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The Department of State bulletin

Vol. XXIV, No. 626 • Publication 4265

June 25, 1951

Note: The June 18 issue was numbered in error 625. No. 624 has been omitted from this series.

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents U.S. Government Printing Office Washington 25, D.C.

> PRICE: 52 issues, domestic \$7.50, foreign \$10.25 Single copy, 20 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (July 29, 1949).

Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the Department OF State Bulletin as the source will be appreciated.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Provisions in the Human Rights Covenant

REVISIONS OF THE 1951 SESSION OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

by James Simsarian

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights, at the seventh session, which met at Geneva from April 16-May 19, 1951, drafted provisions on economic, social, and cultural rights for inclusion in the International Covenant on Human Rights.¹ The Commission acted in accordance with the decision of the 1950 General Assembly that provisions on economic, social, and cultural rights should be included in the covenant.

The Commission on Human Rights also revised the implementation machinery provided in the covenant with respect to the civil and political rights in the covenant. It did not have time, however, during the 5-weeks session to revise the other parts of the covenant.

At the end of the 1951 session, the Commission forwarded the covenant to the members of the United Nations and to the specialized agencies for their comments before the Economic and Social Council considered it at its next meeting at Geneva on July 30, 1951.

The Council will then submit the revised draft of the covenant to the General Assembly as requested by the General Assembly's resolution.²

After the draft covenant is finally reviewed and revised, it will be opened for signature and ratification and will come into force, when 20 countries ratify it. The covenant is in contrast to the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (approved by the General Assembly at Paris on Dec. 10, 1948) since the declaration was not drafted in the form of a treaty but as a declaration without legally binding force.

The basic civil and political rights set forth in the draft covenant are well known in American tradition and law and relate to the right to life, protection against torture, slavery, forced labor, arbitrary arrest or detention, freedom to leave a country, freedom to return to one's country, right to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty, protection against ex post facto laws, right to recognition as a person before the law, freedom of religion, expression, assembly and association, and equal protection of the law.

The Commission decided that the covenant on Human Rights should authorize only states to file complaints with respect to alleged violations of the covenant. The Commission rejected a proposal that individuals, groups, and nongovernmental organizations also be authorized to file complaints.

The draft covenant on Human Rights now consists of 5 parts. Parts I and II relate to civil and political rights, part III sets forth the economic, social, and cultural rights, part IV sets forth the complaint machinery, part V sets forth the new reporting requirements drafted at the 1951 session of the Commission, and part VI contains the federal state article, the territories article, and several procedural articles.

In the new part III articles were drafted on most of the economic, social, and cultural rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The provisions of this part of the covenant relate to the opportunity to work, conditions of work, social security, housing, standard of living, health, maternity, motherhood, children,

¹ For additional materials on human rights, see the following BULLETIN references: An International Bill of Human Rights, by James P. Hendrick, Feb. 15, 1948, p. 195; Progress Report on Human Rights, by James P. Hendrick, Aug. 8, 1948, p. 159; United Nations Actions on Human Rights in 1948, by James Simsarian, Jan. 2, 1949, p. 18; Human Rights: Draft Covenant Revised at Fifth Session of Commission on Human Rights, by James Simsarian, July 11, 1949, p. 3; Proposed Human Rights Covenant Revised at 1950 Session of Commission on Human Rights, by James Simsarian, June 12, 1950, p. 945. For the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of Apr. 23, 1951, p. 670.

³The General Assembly will convene at Paris the latter part of October or early in November 1951.

young persons, trade unions, education, culture, and science.

In drafting such provisions, the Commission recognized that they differed in a number of respects from the civil and political provisions of the covenant. Those differences were acknowledged

in the covenant in a number of ways:

(1) The economic, social, and cultural rights were recognized as objectives to be achieved "progressively." In the case of the civil and political rights, states ratifying the covenant will be under an obligation to take necessary steps within a reasonable length of time to give effect to these rights. A much longer period of time is clearly contemplated under the covenant for the achievement of the economic, social, and cultural rights. The term "rights" is used with respect to both the civil and political provisions as well as the economic, social, and cultural provisions. This term is used, however, in two different senses. civil and political rights are looked upon as "rights" to be given effect almost immediately. The economic, social, and cultural rights although recognized as "rights" are looked upon as objectives toward which states adhering to the covenant would undertake to strive.

(2) It was recognized that the economic, social, and cultural rights were to be achieved by many means and methods, private as well as public, and not solely through legislation. Article 19 provides that States will take steps "with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in this Part of the present Covenant." The phrase "with a view" was stressed as pointing to the achievement of conditions in a state whereby these rights could be secured through private action as well as governmental action. The obligation of a state ratifying the covenant will be to take steps for the promotion of conditions for economic, social, and cultural progress and develop-The U.S.S.R. repeatedly urged that the economic, social, and cultural rights be stated in terms of state legislation only but the other members of the Commission rejected this approach.

(3) Simple implementation arrangements were drafted for the economie, social, and cultural rights in contrast to the implementation machinery drafted for the civil and political rights. In the case of the civil and political rights, the implementation machinery established authorized one state to complain against another state if the latter was violating the covenant. There was wide sentiment in the Commission that this complaint procedure would not be appropriate for the economic, social, and cultural rights since these rights were to be achieved progressively, and the obligations of states with respect to these rights were not so precise as those with respect to the civil and political rights. The Commission wished to stress the importance of assisting states to achieve economic, social, and cultural progress rather than complaints against states. Accordingly, a procedure was devised whereby states would furnish reports concerning the progress made in the observance of the economic, social, and cultural rights set forth in the covenant.

(4) The economic, social, and cultural rights were necessarily drafted in broad terms as contrasted to the provisions on civil and political rights. It was felt in the Commission that since these rights were stated in terms of broad objectives, general language would be adequate. For example, article 22 simply provides that—

The States Parties to the covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security.

In view of the many differences recognized by the Commission in drafting part III of the covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights as contrasted to parts I and II on civil and political rights, India urged at the end of the 1951 session that the General Assembly be requested to reconsider the decision that economic, social, and cultural rights should be included in the same cove-

nant with civil and political rights.

The Indian representative proposed that the civil and political rights constitute one covenant and that the provisions on economic, social, and cultural rights be set forth in a separate one. This proposal was, however, rejected by a vote of 5-12, with 1 abstention. Countries voting to reject this proposal recognized the different character of the economic, social, and cultural rights as contrasted to the civil and political rights in the covenant but vigorously pressed the view that such provisions should be contained in the same covenant with the provisions on civil and political This attitude was the same as that expressed in the 1950 General Assembly. The United States favored the separation of the two fields into two covenants in both the 1950 session of the General Assembly and the 1951 session of the Commission on Human Rights but was in a minority in both organs of the United Nations on this point.

Underdeveloped countries in particular expressed the view that it was important that the economic, social, and cultural rights be contained in the same covenant with the civil and political rights to stress the equal importance of these two fields. A separation of the two, it was felt, would indicate the lesser importance of the economic,

social, and cultural rights.

The Commission adopted article 32 to recognize that such of the economic, social, and cultural rights as are provided by a state ratifying the covenant may be subjected by the state to certain limitations if necessary for the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society. The United States urged the inclusion of this provision in the covenant to make it clear that the economic, social, and cultural rights recognized would not be absolute but subject to reasonable limitations. In the case of social security, for example, it is sometimes necessary to condition disability benefits payable to disabled work-

ers on their willingness to take vocational rehabilitation courses.

Representatives of the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO), and the World Health Organization (Who) participated in the drafting of the provisions on economic, social, and cultural rights in the Commission. The Director Generals of the three organizations attended some of the meetings, David Morse, Dr. Torres Bodet, and Dr. Brock Chisholm, respectively. In addition, the ILO was represented by a tripartite delegation from the Governing Body of the International Labor Office consisting of Sir Guildhaume Myrrdin-Evans, representing the government group, Leon Jouhaux, representing the workers, Gustav Bergenstrom, representing the employers.

Articles on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

The following is a brief discussion of each of the economic, social, and cultural articles adopted by the Commission of Human Rights for inclusion in part III of the draft covenant.

RIGHT TO WORK

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The first article considered in the field of economic, social, and cultural rights was the right to work. The U.S.S.R. proposed that this article read as follows:

The State shall ensure to everyone the right to work and a choice of profession, with the object of creating conditions which will remove the threat of death by hunger or by inanition.

This proposal was rejected by a vote of 10-2, with 6 abstentions. Instead, the Commission adopted the following as article 20 by a vote of 16-0, with 2 abstentions (U.S.S.R. and Ukraine):

Work being at the basis of all human endeavor, the States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right to work, that is to say, the fundamental right of everyone to the opportunity, if he so desires, to gain his living by work which he freely accepts.

Most of the members of the Commission and especially the United States representative were particularly anxious to counteract any concept of compulsion, i.e., forced labor, in the phrase "right to work." The Commission accordingly voted to include the phrase "if he so desires" and the word "freely" to stress the noncompulsory character of this provision. The U.S.S.R. asked for a separate vote on the inclusion of the phrase "if he so desires," but the effort to exclude this phrase was unsuccessful. The Commission rejected the initial Soviet proposal particularly because it gave unwarranted stress to the role of the state. The language adopted by the Commission is in terms of the recognition of the right of everyone, if he so desires, to gain his living by work which he freely accepts.

CONDITIONS OF WORK

Article 21 recognizes the right of everyone to just and favorable conditions of work, stressing safe and healthy working conditions, fair wages, equal pay for equal work and reasonable limitation of working hours, and periodic holidays with pay. The ILO urged that the language utilized in this article be as general as possible since detailed conventions on various aspects of this subject are being developed separately in that organization.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The following U.S.S.R. proposal was rejected:

Social security and social insurance for workers and salaried employees shall be provided at the expense of the State or of the employer, in accordance with each country's legislation.

The Commission decided instead to provide simply in article 22 that the states parties to the covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security. The ILO again urged that general language be used since a number of conventions in the field of social security are being developed in that organization.

HOUSING

The following U.S.S.R. proposal was rejected:

The State shall take all the necessary steps especially legislative measures, to ensure to everyone living accommodation worthy of man.

Instead, the Commission adopted article 23 providing that—

States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to adequate housing.

STANDARD OF LIVING

This article 24 was adopted to recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living and the continuous improvement of living conditions.

HEALTH

The Who representative urged that provisions in the covenant on the right to health be couched in terms identical with those used in the Constitution of the organization, especially since they have been recognized by the 75 members of that organization. The first sentence of this article 25 was accordingly adopted to provide:

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest standard of health obtainable.

The United States supported this language, but objected to the inclusion of the second sentence of this article which provides:

With a view to implementing and safeguarding this right each State party hereto undertakes to provide legislative measures to promote and protect health.

The United States in opposing this sentence pointed out that it mentioned only legislative measures for the promotion and protection of health and that obviously the promotion and protection of health should be achieved through private means and methods also and not solely through legislation. This sentence was, however, adopted. It was recognized at the same time by the Commission that in approving this provision, it would be subject to review later in the light of the over-all general promotional article expected to be adopted with respect to all the provisions on economic, social, and cultural rights in the cove-The over-all general promotional article (later adopted as art. 19) is not limited to legislation for the achievement of the objectives set forth in the field of economic, social, and cultural rights. The Commission, however, did not have time to review the various articles and to eliminate inconsistencies. Accordingly, the second sentence of article 25 was not eliminated at this session. It is anticipated that, in the further review of the provisions of the covenant, the United States will urge that this inconsistency be corrected and that the second sentence of article 25 be eliminated.

MATERNITY, MOTHERHOOD, AND CHILDREN

This article 26 was adopted to recognize (1) that special protection should be accorded to maternity and motherhood and (2) that special measures of protection should be taken on behalf of children and young persons and that in particular they should not be required to do work likely to hamper their normal development.

TRADE UNIONS

Although under article 16 of the draft covenant the right of association is already recognized, the Commission decided to include a separate provision on trade union rights under article 27 to recognize expressly the right of everyone to form and join local, national, and international trade unions of his choice for the protection of his economic and social interests. The Commission decided to omit any reference to the right to strike in this article. Several attempts were made to include the right to strike subject to certain limitations. It was felt, however, that to include such provision with the limitations proposed would be too restrictive. For example, Uruguay proposed the following text, which was rejected:

It shall be understood that the right to strike is restricted to circumstances where attempts at conciliation have been exhausted. In the same way, the right to strike may be restricted by legislative measures in the case of public officials.

EDUCATION

The first seven paragraphs of article 28 on education were adopted on the recommendation of

Unesco representatives. Paragraphs 3 and 4 provide for compulsory primary education to be free and for secondary education to be progressively free. Paragraphs 5 provides that higher education should also be made progressively free and equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Paragraph 6 calls for fundamental education for adults who have not received or completed their primary education.

Paragraph 8 recognizes that the obligations of states to establish a system of free compulsory primary education should not be deemed incompatible with the liberty of parents to choose for their children schools other than those established by the state provided that they conform to minimum standards laid down by the state. Paragraph 9 provides that in the exercise of any functions which the state assumes in the field of education it should have respect for the liberty of parents to insure the religious education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

Under article 29, each state would agree to work out and adopt a detailed plan of action within 2 years after adherence to the covenant for the progressive implementation of the principle of free compulsory primary education if at the time it adheres to the covenant it has not already done so.

CULTURE AND SCIENCE

Article 30 was adopted to recognize the right of everyone to take part in cultural life and to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress. The proposal of Unesco to include a provision on copyright was rejected by the Commission. It provided for the right of everyone—

to obtain protection for his moral and material interests resulting from any scientific or artistic production of which he is the author.

The Commission felt that this was a technical subject more appropriate for consideration in a separate convention than for inclusion in the Covenant on Human Rights.

EQUALITY OF MEN AND WOMEN

In accordance with the General Assembly resolution, the Commission included article 31 in part III of the covenant to recognize the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic, social, and cultural rights, particularly those set forth in the covenant.

PROPERTY

The United States proposed that an article be included in the covenant recognizing the right of everyone to own property. The Commission decided for the present, however, not to include such an article. At the end of the session, the United States filed a statement in the report of the Commission calling attention to the desirability of including such an article.

Reports Concerning Economic Social and Cultural Rights

The Commission drafted a new part V to provide that states ratifying the covenant would submit reports concerning progress made in achieving the observance of economic, social, and cultural rights. At the same time, article 60 provides that these reports would be submitted in conformity with the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly in the exercise of their general responsibility calling upon all members of the United Nations

to provide such reports.

There was strong sentiment in the Commission that all members of the United Nations should be called upon to submit these reports, whether or not they ratified the Covenant on Human Rights. It was recognized of course that only states ratifying the covenant could be obligated under the covenant to furnish these reports and that other members of the United Nations would not be under a similar obligation to do so. It was felt, however, that since it was being provided in the covenant that the reports would be considered by the United Nations, all members of the United Nations should be requested to submit the reports by the adoption of recommendations to this effect by the Economic and Social Council and the Gen-

Provision is made that reports concerning progress made in achieving the observance of the economic, social, and cultural rights would be submitted by states in accordance with a program to be established by the Economic and Social Council after consultation with these states and the specialized agencies concerned. It is contemplated that reports would be made to the specialized agencies as well as to the United Nations. Reports made by states through the specialized agencies and directly to the United Nations would be transmitted by the Economic and Social Council to the Commission on Human Rights for study and recommendations. The Commission would submit recommendations to the Council and the Council in turn would submit reports to the General Assembly indicating the progress made by states in achieving the observance of the economic, social, and cultural rights.

Implementation of Civil and Political Rights

The U.S.S.R. as usual proposed that all implementation machinery be omitted from the covenant. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, these provisions should be omitted "on the grounds that they envisage forms of control in implementing the draft Covenant on Human Rights which constitute an attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of States and violate their sovereignty." This Soviet proposal was rejected by the Commission by a vote of 2-15, with 1 abstention.

As pointed out earlier, the Commission re-

jected the inclusion of a provision in the covenant to extend the right of complaint to individuals, groups, and organizations. This proposal was rejected by a vote of 7-10, with 1 abstention. The seven countries voting in favor of this proposal were Chile, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Lebanon, Sweden, and Uruguay. The 10 countries voting against this proposal were Australia, China, France, Greece, Pakistan, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia. Denmark abstained.

Guatemala proposed that a provision be included in the covenant referring to other international instrument authorizing complaints to be filed by individuals, groups, and organizations. This proposal was also rejected by a vote of 7-9,

with 1 abstention.

The countries voting against and abstaining on the question of including provisions in the covenant to extend the right of complaint to individuals, groups, and organizations expressed the view that such provisions should be set forth in a separate protocol or protocols for separate ratification, except the U.S.S.R. and the Ukraine who were against the drafting of any such provisions in any international instruments. The Commission intended to proceed with the drafting of a protocol or protocols authorizing individuals, groups, and organizations to file complaints of alleged violations of the covenant, but did not have adequate time to do so at its 1951 session. These protocols may be considered by the General Assembly at its 1951 session or by the Commission on Human Rights at its 1952 session.

In reviewing the provisions of the draft covenant providing for the establishment of a Human Rights Committee to receive complaints from states with respect to alleged violations of the civil and political rights in the covenant, the Commission decided to increase the membership of this Committee from 7 to 9 members. In addition, the Commission decided that the Committee should be elected by the International Court of Justice instead of by states parties to the covenant. It was felt that this method of election would tend to make the Committee a more impartial body. It was agreed, however, that the Court would elect members only from a list of persons nominated by states parties to the covenant. The nonjudicial character of the Human Rights Committee was stressed in a revision of article 33 to provide that consideration should be given in the composition of the Committee-

to the usefulness of the participation of some persons having judicial or legal experience.

This provision indicates that it is not contemplated that all the members of the Committee will be persons with judicial or legal experience.

Provision is made that the Human Rights Committee will meet at the permanent headquarters of the United Nations at New York or Geneva. The jurisdiction of the Committee was restricted by the adoption of article 53 which provides that the Committee will not deal with any matter (1) for which an organ or a specialized agency of the United Nations competent to do so has established a special procedure or (2) with which the International Court of Justice is seized. Article 54 was retained without change to provide that normally the Human Rights Committee will deal with a matter referred to it only if available domestic remedies have been invoked and exhausted in the case.

Article 56 was added to authorize the Human Rights Committee to recommend to the Economic and Social Council that the Council request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question connected with a matter with which the Committee is seized. This provision also stresses the nonlegal character of the Human Rights Committee.

Under article 57, the Committee is authorized to ascertain the facts in each case referred to it and to make its good offices available to the states concerned with a view to a friendly solution of the matter on the basis of respect for human rights as recognized in the covenant. The Committee will in each case prepare a report to be sent to the states concerned and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for publication.

Federal State Article

The Commission on Human Rights had been requested by the General Assembly to study a federal state article and to prepare, for the consideration of the 1951 session of the General Assembly, recommendations which would have as their purpose "securing the maximum extension of the Covenant to the constituent units of Federal States" and at the same time meeting the constitutional problems of federal states. The Commission did not have sufficient time at its 1951 session to study or make such recommendations. Accordingly, the preparation of a federal state article was postponed. The United States, during the discussion of the economic, social, and cultural provisions, pointed out that, in its view, the federal state article should be applicable to these provisions as well as to the civil and political provisions in the covenant. Under the language proposed by the United States, the obligations undertaken under the covenant by a federal state such as the United States would be limited to matters which are determined in accordance with the constitutional processes of the United States to be appropriate for federal action.

DRAFT INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

[As revised at the seventh session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, April-May 1951. The Commission at this session drafted the provisions on economic, social and cultural rights in part III and the implementation provisions in part V and revised the implementation machinery in part IV. Due to the lack of time; the Commission did not consider or make any changes in parts I, II and VI except with respect to article 72. This draft will be considered by the United Nations Economic and Social Council at its thirteenth session, July-September 1951.]

Preamble

The States Parties hereto,

CONSIDERING the obligation under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

BEARING IN MIND the Universal Declaration of Human

RECOGNIZING that the rights and freedoms recognized in this Covenant flow from the inherent dignity of the

human person,

By this Covenant agree upon the following articles with respect to these rights and freedoms.

PART I

Article 1

[This article 1 was initially drafted by the Commission to be applicable only to the articles on civil and political rights in part II. The discussions in the April-May 1951 session of the Commission indicated that the Commission did not intend to have this article applicable to the articles on economic and social rights in part III, except possibly the nondiscrimination provisions of paragraph 1. Due to the lack of time at its April-May 1951 session, however, the Commission did not have an opportunity to clarify these matters by appropriate revisions in this article.]

1. Each State Party hereto undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in this Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

2. Where not already provided for by existing legislative or other measures, each State undertakes to take the necessary steps, in accordance with its constitutional processes and with the provisions of this Covenant, to adopt within a reasonable time such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in this Covenant.

3. Each State Party hereto undertakes to ensure:

(a) That any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;

(b) That any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent authori-

ties, political, administrative or judicial;

(c) That the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

Article 2

- 1. In the case of a state of emergency officially proclaimed by the authorities or in the case of public disaster, a State may take measures derogating, to the extent strictly limited by the exigencies of the situation, from its obligations under article 1, paragraph 1 and Part II of this Covenant.
- 2. No derogation from articles 3, 4, 5 (paragraphs 1 and 2), 7, 11, 12 and 13 may be made under this provision. No derogation which is otherwise incompatible with international law may be made by a State under this provision.
- 3. Any State Party hereto availing itself of the right of derogation shall inform immediately the other States Parties to the Covenant, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General, of the provisions from which it has

derogated and the date on which it has terminated such derogation.

PART II

[Civil and Political Rights]

Article 3

1. Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law.

2. To take life shall be a crime, save in the execution of a sentence of a court, or in self-defence, or in the case of enforcement measures authorized by the Charter.

3. In countries where capital punishment exists, sentence of death may be imposed only as a penalty for the most serious crimes, pursuant to the sentence of a competent court and in accordance with law not contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

4. Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek amnesty, or pardon, or commutation of the sentence. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.

Article 4

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected against his will to medical or scientific experimentation involving risk, where such is not required by his state of physical or mental health.

Article 5

1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave trade in all their forms shall be prohibited.

2. No one shall be held in servitude.

3. (a) No one shall be required to perform forced or

compulsory labour.

(b) The preceding sub-paragraph shall not be held to preclude, in countries where imprisonment with "hard labour" may be imposed as a punishment for a crime, the performance of "hard labour" in pursuance of a sentence to such punishment by a competent court.

(c) For the purpose of this paragraph the term "forced or compulsory labour" shall not include:

(i) Any work or service, other than work performed in pursuance of a sentence of "hard labour" required to be done in the course of detention in consequence of a lawful order of a court;

(ii) Any service of a military character or, in the case of conscientious objectors, in countries where they are recognized, service exacted in virtue of laws requiring compulsory national service;

(iii) Any service exacted in cases of emergency or calamity threatening the life or well-being of the com-

munity

(iv) Any work or service which forms part of normal civil obligations.

Article 6

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or

2. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedures as are established by law.

3. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be

promptly informed of any charges against him. 4. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. Pending trial, detention shall not be the general rule, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial.

5. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings by which the lawfulness of his detention shall be decided without delay by a court and his release ordered if the detention

6. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

Article 7

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the ground of inability to fulfill a contractual obligation.

Article 8

1. Subject to any general law, consistent with the rights recognized in this Covenant:

(a) Everyone legally within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to (i) liberty of movement and (ii) freedom to choose his residence;

(b) Everyone shall be free to leave any country in-

cluding his own.

national.

2. (a) No one shall be subjected to arbitrary exile; (b) Subject to the preceding sub-paragraph, anyone shall be free to enter the country of which he is a

Article 9

No alien legally admitted to the territory of a State shall be expelled therefrom except on established legal grounds and according to procedure and safeguards which shall in all cases be provided by law.

Article 10

1. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing, by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law. The Press and public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morals, public order or national security or where the interest of juveniles so requires, or to the extent strictly necessary in the opinion of the court in special circumstances where publicity would prejudice the interest of justice; but the judgment shall be pronounced publicly except where the interest of juveniles otherwise requires.

2. Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:

(a) To be informed promptly of the nature and cause

of the accusation against him;

(b) To defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing; to be informed, if he does not have legal assistance, of this right; and to have legal assistance assigned to him, in any case where the interests of justice so require, and without payment by him in any such case where he does not have sufficient means to pay for it:

(c) To examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain compulsory attendance of witnesses in his behalf who are within the jurisdiction and

subject to the process of the tribunal;

(d) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court:

(e) In the case of juveniles, the procedure shall be such as will take account of their age and the desirability

of promoting their rehabilitation.

3. In any case where by a final decision a person has been convicted of a criminal offence and where subsequently a new or newly discovered fact shows conclusively that there has been a miscarriage of justice, the person who has suffered punishment as a result of such conviction shall be compensated. This compensation shall be awarded to the heirs of a person executed by virtue of an erroneous sentence.

Article 11

1. No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time when the criminal offence was committed. If, subsequent to the commission of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of a lighter penalty, the

offender shall benefit thereby.

2. Nothing in this article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for the commission of any act which, at the time when it was committed, was criminal according to the generally recognized principles of law.

Article 12

Every one shall have the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 13

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

2. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are pursuant to law and are reasonable and necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights

and freedoms of others.

Article 14

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.

2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.

3. The right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas carries with it special duties and responsibilities and may therefore be subject to certain penalties, liabilities and restrictions, but these shall be such only as are provided by law and are necessary for the protection of national security, public order, safety, health or morals, or of the rights, freedoms or reputations of others.

Article 15

The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary to ensure national security, public order, the protection of health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 16

1. The right of association shall be recognized.

2. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of this right other than those prescribed by law and which are necessary to ensure national security, public order, the protection of health or morals or the protection of

the rights and freedoms of others.

3. Nothing in this article shall authorize States Parties to the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948, to take legislative measures which would prejudice, or to apply the law in such a manner as to prejudice, the guarantees provided for in that Convention.

Article 17

All are equal before the law; all shall be accorded equal protection of the law without discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 18

1. Nothing in this Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in this Covenant.

2. Nothing in this Covenant may be interpreted as lim-

iting or derogating from any of the rights and freedoms which may be guaranteed under the laws of any Contracting State or any conventions to which it is a party.

PART III

[Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights]

Article 19

The States parties to the present Covenant, 1. bearing in mind the link between the rights and liberties recognized and defined above, and the economic, social and cultural rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

2. resolved to combat the scourges, such as famine, disease, poverty, the feeling of insecurity and ignorance, which take toll of or degrade men, and prevent the free

development of their personality;

3. resolved to strive to ensure that every human being shall obtain the food, clothing, shelter essential for his livelihood and well-being, and shall achieve an adequate standard of living and a continuous improvement of his living material and spiritual conditions;

4. undertake to take steps, individually and through international co-operation, to the maximum of their available resources with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in this part of the present Covenant.

Article 20

Work being the basis of all human endeavor, the States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right to work, that is to say, the fundamental right of everyone to the opportunity, if he so desires, to gain his living by work which he freely accepts.

Article 21

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to just and favourable conditions of work, including:

(a) safe and healthy working conditions;

(b) minimum remuneration which provides all workers: (i) with fair wages and equal pay for equal work,

and (ii) a decent living for themselves and their families;

and (c) reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic

holidays with pay.

Article 22

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security.

Article 23

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to adequate housing.

Article 24

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living and the continuous improvement of living conditions.

Article 25

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest standard of health obtainable. With a view to implementing and safeguarding this right each State party hereto undertakes to provide legislative measures to promote and protect health and, in particular:

(i) to reduce infant mortality and provide for healthy

development of the child;

(ii) to improve nutrition, housing, sanitation, recreation, economic and working conditions and other aspects of environmental hygiene:

(iii) to control epidemic, endemic and other diseases; (iv) to provide conditions which would assure the right of all to medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness.

Article 26

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize that:

(1) special protection should be accorded to maternity

and motherhood; and

(2) special measures of protection should be taken on behalf of children and young persons, and that in particular they should not be required to do work likely to hamper their normal development.

Article 27

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone, in conformity with Article 16, to form and join local, national, and international trade unions of his choice for the protection of his economic and social interests.

Article 28

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize:

1. the right of everyone to education;

2. that educational facilities shall be accessible to all in accordance with the principle of non-discrimination enunciated in paragraph 1 of Article 1 of this Covenant;

3. that primary education shall be compulsory and

available free to all;

4. that secondary education, in its different forms, including technical and professional secondary education, shall be generally available and shall be made progressively free:

5. that higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit and thall be made progressively

6. that fundamental education for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education shall be encouraged as far as possible;

7. that education shall encourage the full development of the human personality, the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the suppression of all incitement to racial and other hatred. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial, ethnic or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society;

8. the obligations of States to establish a system of free and compulsory primary education shall not be deemed incompatible with the liberty of parents to choose for their children schools other than those established by the State which conform to minimum standards laid down by the

9. in the exercise of any functions which the State assumes in the field of education it shall have respect for the liberty of parents to ensure the religious education of their children in conformity with their own con-

Article 29

Each State party to the Covenant which, at the time of becoming a party to this Covenant, has not been able to secure in its metropolitan territory or other territories under its jurisdiction compulsory primary education, free of charge, undertakes, within two years, to work out and adopt a detailed plan of action for the progressive implementation, within a reasonable number of years, to be fixed in the plan, of the principle of compulsory primary education free of charge for all.

Article 30

The States parties to the Covenant undertake to encourage by all appropriate means the conservation, the development and the diffusion of science and culture.

They recognize that it is one of their principal aims to

ensure conditions which will permit everyone:

1. to take part in cultural life;

2. to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications.

Article 31

The States parties to the Covenant recognize the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic,

social and cultural rights, and particularly of those set forth in this Covenant.

Article 32

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize that in the enjoyment of those rights provided by the State in conformity with this Part of the Covenant, the State may subject such rights only to such limitations as are determined by law only in so far as this may be compatible with the nature of these rights and solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society.

PART IV

[The implementation machinery set forth in this Part of the Covenant was initially drafted by the Commission at its March-May 1950 session with respect to the civil and political rights in Parts I and II. Due to the lack of time at its April-May 1951 session, the Commission did not decide whether this implementation machinery should also apply to the economic, social and cultural rights in Part III. The discussions in the April-May 1951 session indicated, however, wide sentiment in the Commission against the applicability of this Part of the Covenant to the economic, social and cultural rights.]

Article 33

1. With a view to the implementation of the provisions of the International Covenant on Human Rights, there shall be set up a Human Rights Committee, hereinafter referred to as "the Committee", composed of nine members with the functions hereinafter provided.

2. The Committee shall be composed of nationals of the States Parties to the Covenant who shall be persons of high moral standing and recognized competence in the field of human rights, consideration being given to the usefulness of the participation of some persons having a judicial or legal experience.

3. The members of the Committee shall be elected and

shall serve in their personal capacities.

Article 34

1. The members of the Committee shall be elected from a list of persons possessing the qualifications prescribed in Article 33 and specially nominated for that purpose by the States Parties to the Covenant.

2. Each State shall nominate at least two and not more than four persons. These persons may be nationals of the nominating State or of any other State Party to the

Covenant.

3. Nominations shall remain valid until new nominations are made for the purpose of the next election under Article 39. A person shall be eligible to be renominated.

Article 35

At least three months before the date of each election to the Committee, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a written request to the States Parties to the Covenant inviting them, if they have not already submitted their nominations, to submit them within two

Article 36

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated, and submit it to the International Court of Justice and to the States Parties to the Covenant.

Article 37

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, on behalf of the States Parties to the Covenant, shall request the International Court of Justice to elect the members of the Committee from the list referred to in Article 36 and in accordance with the conditions set out below.

2. On receipt of the list from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the International Court of Justice shall fix the time of elections for mem-

bers of the Committee.

Article 38

1. No more than one national of any State may be a

member of the Committee at any time.

2. In the election of the Committee consideration shall be given to equitable geographical distribution of membership and to the representation of the main forms of civilization.

The persons elected shall be those who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes

of all the members of the Court.

3. The quorum of nine laid down in Article 25, paragraph 3, of the Statute of the Court shall apply for the holding of the elections by the Court.

Article 39

The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of five years and be eligible for re-election. However, the terms of five of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years. Immediately after the first election the names of the members whose terms expire at the end of the initial period of two years shall be chosen by lot by the President of the International Court of Justice.

Article 40

1. Should a vacancy arise, the provisions of Articles 35,

36, 37 and 38 shall apply to the election.

2. A member of the Committee elected to fill a vacancy shall, if his predecessor's term of office has not expired, hold office for the remainder of that term.

Article 41

A member of the Committee shall remain in office until his successor has been elected; but if the Committee has, prior to the election of his successor, begun to consider a case, he shall continue to act in that case, and his successor shall not act in that case.

Article 42

The resignation of a member of the Committee shall be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee through the Secretary of the Committee who shall immediately notify the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice.

Article 43

The members of the Committee and the Secretary, when engaged on the business of the Committee, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Article 44

1. The Secretary of the Committee shall be appointed by the International Court of Justice from a list of three names submitted by the Committee.

2. The candidate obtaining the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of all the members

of the Court shall be declared elected.

3. The quorum of nine laid down in Article 25, paragraph 3, of the Statute of the Court shall apply for the holding of the election by the Court.

Article 45

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall convene the initial meeting of the Committee at the Headquarters of the United Nations.

Article 46

The Committee shall, at its initial meeting, elect its Chairman and Vice-Chairman for the period of one year.

Article 47

The Committee shall establish its own rules of procedure, but these rules shall provide that:

(a) Seven members shall constitute a quorum;

(b) The work of the Committee shall proceed by a majority vote of the members present; in the event of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have a casting

(c) All States parties to the Covenant having an interest in any matter referred to the Committee under Article 52 shall have the right to make submissions to the

Committee in writing.

The States referred to in Article 52 shall further have the right to be represented at the hearings of the Committee and to make submissions orally.

(d) The Committee shall hold hearings and other

meetings in closed session.

Article 48

1. After its initial meeting the Committee shall meet

(a) at such times as it deems necessary;

(b) when any matter is referred to it under Article 52:

(c) when convened by its Chairman or at the request of not less than five of its members.

2. The Committee shall meet at the permanent headquarters of the United Nations or at Geneva.

Article 49

The Secretary of the Committee shall attend its meetings, make all necessary arrangements, in accordance with the Committee's instructions, for the preparation and conduct of the work, and carry out any other duties assigned to him by the Committee.

Article 50

The members and the Secretary of the Committee shall receive emoluments commensurate with the importance and responsibilities of their office.

Article 51

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the Committee and its members.

Article 52

1. If a State Party to the Covenant considers that another State Party is not giving effect to a provision of the Covenant, it may, by written communication, bring the matter to the attention of that State. Within three months after the receipt of the communication, the receiving State shall afford the communicating State an explanation or statement in writing concerning the matter, which should include, to the extent possible and pertinent, references to domestic procedures and remedies taken or pending, or available in the matter.

2. If the matter is not adjusted to the satisfaction of

both Parties within six months after the receipt by the receiving State of the initial communication, either State shall have the right to refer the matter to the Committee, by notice given to the Secretary of the Committee and to

the other State.

3. Subject to the provisions of Article 54 below, in serious cases, where human life is endangered the Committee may, at the request of a State Party to the Covenant referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article, deal forthwith with the case on receipt of the initial communication and after notifying the State concerned.

Article 53

The Committee shall deal with any matter referred to it under Article 52 save that it shall have no power to deal with any matter,

(a) for which any organ or specialized agency of the United Nations competent to do so has established a special procedure by which the States concerned are governed; or

(b) with which the International Court of Justice is seized other than by virtue of Article . . . of the present Covenant.

Article 54

Normally, the Committee shall deal with a matter referred to it only if available domestic remedies have been invoked and exhausted in the case. This shall not be the rule where the application of the remedies is unreasonably prolonged.

Article 55

In any matter referred to it the Committee may call upon the States concerned to supply any relevant information.

Article 56

The Committee may recommend to the Economic and Social Council that the Council request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question connected with a matter of which the Committee is seized.

Article 57

1. Subject to the provisions of Article 54, the Committee shall ascertain the facts and make available its good offices to the States concerned with a view to a friendly solution of the matter on the basis of respect for human rights as recognized in this Covenant.

2. The Committee shall, in every case and in no event later than eighteen months after the date of receipt of the notice under Article 52, draw up a report which will be sent to the States concerned and then communicated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for publication. The Committee shall complete its report as promptly as possible, particularly when requested by one of the States Parties where human life in endangered.

3. If a solution within the terms of paragraph 1 of this article is reached the Committee shall confine its report to a brief statement of the facts and of the solution reached. If such a solution is not reached, the Committee shall state in its report its conclusion on the facts and attach thereto the statements made by the parties to the case.

Article 58

The Committee shall submit to the General Assembly, through the Secretary-General, an annual report of its activities.

Article 59

The States Parties to this Covenant agree not to submit, by way of petition, to the International Court of Justice, except by special agreement, any dispute arising out of the interpretation or application of the Covenant in a matter within the competence of the Committee.

PART V

[The implementation provisions set forth in this Part of the Covenant were drafted by the Commission at its April-May 1951 session with respect to the economic, social and cultural rights in Part III. The Commission left open the question whether these implementation provisions should also apply to the civil and political rights in Parts I and II. Sentiment in the Commission was divided on this issue.]

Article 60

The States Parties to this Covenant undertake to submit reports concerning progress made in achieving the observance of these rights in conformity with the following articles and the recommendations which the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, in the exercise of their general responsibility may make to all the Members of the United Nations.

Article 61

1. The States Parties shall furnish their reports in stages, in accordance with a programme to be established by the Economic and Social Council after consultation with the States Parties to this Covenant and the specialized agencies concerned.

Reports may indicate factors and difficulties affecting the degree of fulfillment of obligations under this part of the Covenant.

3. Where relevant information has already previously been furnished to the United Nations or to any specialized agency, the action required by this Article may take the form of a precise reference to the information so furnished.

Article 62

Pursuant to its responsibilities under the Charter in the field of human rights, the Economic and Social Council shall make special arrangements with the specialized agencies in respect to their reporting to it on the progress made in achieving the observance of the provisions of this part of the Covenant falling within their competence. These reports shall include particulars of decisions and recommendations on such implementation adopted by their competent organs.

Article 63

The Economic and Social Council shall transmit to the Commission on Human Rights for study and recommendation the reports concerning human rights submitted by States, and these concerning human rights submitted by the competent specialized agencies.

Article 64

The States Parties directly concerned and the specialized agencies may submit comments to the Economic and Social Council on the report of the Commission on Human Rights

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may submit from time to time to the General Assembly, with its own reports, reports summarizing the information made available by the States Parties to the Covenant directly to the Secretary-General and by the specialized agencies under Article . . . indicating the progress made in achieving general observance of these rights.

Article 66

The Economic and Social Council may submit to the Technical Assistance Board or to any other appropriate international organ the findings contained in the report of the Commission on Human Rights which may assist such organs in deciding each within its competence, on the advisability of international measures likely to contribute to the progressive implementation of this Covenant.

Article 67

The States Parties to the Covenant agree that international action for the achievement of these rights includes such methods as conventions, recommendations, technical assistance, regional and technical meetings and studies with governments.

Article 68

Unless otherwise decided by the Commission on Human Rights or by the Economic and Social Council or requested by the State directly concerned, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall arrange for the publication of the report of the Commission on Human Rights, or reports presented to the Council by specialized agencies as well as of all decisions and recommendations reached by the Economic and Social Council.

Article 69

Nothing in this Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Constitutions of the specialized agencies, which define the respective responsibilities of the various organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in regard to the matters dealt with in this Covenant.

PART VI

Article 70

1. This Covenant shall be open for signature and ratification or accession on behalf of any State Member of the United Nations or of any non-member State to which an invitation has been extended by the General Assembly.

2. Ratification of or accession to this Covenant shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of ratification or accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and as soon as twenty States have deposited such instruments, the Covenant shall come into force among them. As regards any State which ratifies or accedes thereafter the Covenant shall come into force on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification or accession.

3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all Members of the United Nations, and other States which have signed or acceded, of the deposit of

each instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 71

[The consideration of this article was postponed. The United States proposed the following language for this article in the Commission in 1950:

"In the case of a Federal State, the following provisions

shall apply:

(a) With respect to any articles of this Covenant which are determined in accordance with the constitutional processes of that State to be appropriate in whole or in part for federal action, the obligations of the federal government shall to this extent be the same as those of parties which are not Federal States;

(b) With respect to articles which are determined in accordance with the constitutional processes of that State to be appropriate in whole or in part for action by the constitutent states, provinces or cantons, the federal government shall bring such articles, with favorable recommendation, to the notice of the appropriate authorities of the states, provinces or cantons at the earliest possible moment."]

Article 72

[Adopted by General Assembly at its 1950 session]

The provisions of the present Covenant shall extend to or be applicable equally to a signatory metropolitan State and to all the territories, be they Non-Self-Governing, Trust, or Colonial Territories, which are being administered or governed by such metropolitan State.

Article 73

1. Any State Party to the Covenant may propose an amendment and file it with the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General shall thereupon communicate the proposed amendment to the States Parties to the Covenant with a request that they notify him whether they favour a conference of States Parties for the purpose of considering and voting upon the proposal. In the event that at least one third of the States favour such a conference the Secretary-General shall convene the conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Any amendment adopted by a majority of States present and voting at the conference shall be submitted to the General Assembly for approval.

2. Such amendments shall come into force when they have been approved by the General Assembly and accepted by a two-thirds majority of the States Parties to the Covenant in accordance with their respective constitu-

tional processes.

3. When such amendments come into force they shall be binding on these Parties which have accepted them, other Parties being still bound by the provisions of the Covenant and any earlier amendment which they have accepted.

• Mr. Simsarian is assistant officer in charge of United Nations and Human Rights Affairs and also adviser to the United States representative on the Commission on Human Rights.

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Department of Public Information

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¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

The United Nations Secretariat has established an Official Records series for the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission, which includes summaries of proceedings, resolutions, and reports of the various commissions and committees. Publications in the Official Records series will not be listed in this department as heretofore, but information on securing subscriptions to the series may be obtained from the International Documents Service.

Promulgating a Mutual Security Program

STATEMENT BY JAMES E. WEBB UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE 1

While you sit comfortably before your television, at this evening hour, it is already dawn of tomorrow, Saturday, June 9, in far-off Iran-5,000 miles from you and me. And, in a short time now, your Ambassador, Henry Grady, a distinguished California businessman, will go to his office at the United States Embassy in the capital city of that country. He will find there a message from your State Department at Washington which will tell him the important things he needs to know about happenings all over the world. He will also find instructions based on the best judgment of all the departments of your Government as to the things he should do to make known to the Iranian Government, and to have considered, the concern we all feel over the serious crisis that has developed in that country.

Now, it is important to remember that the present acute situation arises from the decision of the Iranian Government to nationalize its oil fields in spite of certain contractual obligations which are felt to be infringed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and by the Government of the United

Kingdom.

From the standpoint of the United States, we must bear in mind that even though this situation is fraught with great danger to peace, which affects the whole world, it is primarily a situation for negotiation between Iran and the United Kingdom. The position your Government has taken is that everyone concerned must be as level-headed as possible and stretch every point to preserve peace. We must not interfere in the internal affairs of Iran or in the details of the controversy, but we have an obligation to make known to both the British and the Iranians our concern about this situation and to urge that they both approach the problem in a spirit of moderation.

In carrying out this decision of your Government, Ambassador Grady tomorrow will, I hope, play a part in helping to work out a solution based on patience and good faith. About the time you finish your breakfast tomorrow morning, it will

be twilight in Iran, and he will have completed another day's work. After he leaves his office, his staff in the Embassy, including perhaps someone from your home town, will work on into the night getting off to the State Department an estimate of progress made and suggestions for future action.

On the other side of the world is another crisis area—Korea—and your Ambassador there, John J. Muccio, from Rhode Island, with his staff at the United States Embassy, is dealing with a whole cluster of problems which are quite different from those faced in Iran. The instructions which will go out to Ambassador Muccio tonight through the State Department are also based on the best judgment of all the departments of your Government and are based on policies which are quite clear. I know you are asking, "How long will the fighting go on, and what about these rumors of peace negotiations?" Let me set the record straight. We have received no peace feelers from the Communists.

One of the most important things about Korea is that we and the other free nations are carrying on this fight in partnership. Aggression has been stopped in its tracks. It has been stopped not by one nation, but by the United Nations—by collective action for collective security. Of course, we are at all times looking to find a way to end the Korean fighting. When it ends, the next step is the long-term United Nations' objective of establishing a united, free, and independent Korea. We have made it clear that we believe this can be accomplished by peaceful means if the fighting is

Meantime, there are problems in other parts of the world. The French and Vietnamese are valiantly fighting the Communists in Indochina in a major conflict. The British have thousands of troops in Malaya fighting the Communists there. And there are continuing threats by the forces of international communism all along the periphery of the Soviet Union and its satellites. You know the trouble spots—Berlin, Western Germany, Yugoslavia, Greece, and so on. The threat of Communist aggression is seen everywhere. And our answer, together with other free nations, is collective action for collective security.

¹This statement and the one made by Ambassador Cowen were made over an NBC-TV program on June 8 and released to the press on the same date.

Our first job within our collective security system is to rebuild our military power. And we are already taking the actions required. The second job is to harness our power with that of other free nations. We have laid a good foundation through the Marshall Plan, Military Assistance, and the

Point 4 Program.

The means of going forward from where we are is a program the President has called the Mutual Security Program. He has submitted this to the Congress and requested an authorization of 8½ billion dollars. This program includes many different things. By it, we will provide arms to free countries; we will give them some of the things they need to produce arms; we will share with them our vast store of technical know-how; we will provide economic help to some countries to achieve internal stability. We will keep on cooperating with underdeveloped countries whose peoples will be ripe for Communist promises if they have no hope for a better future.

Now this is not just a one-way street. It is not all give by the United States and all take by our friends abroad. They are making their contribution, too. Through this program, we are taking out insurance—insurance for the collective security we must have to keep our freedom.

We and our allies have the capacity to create the strength we need. We have the raw materials. We have the know-how, we have the manpower, we have the spiritual resources, and we have the determination. It is going to take our best effort.

If we carry out these policies we can face the future with confidence. Our strength and our partnership with other nations can have a tremendous impact to preserve the peace.

STATEMENT BY MYRON M. COWEN AMBASSADOR TO THE PHILIPPINES

As a result of 50 years of American tutelage and out of loyalty to and affection for the United States, the Philippines unfalteringly stood by us when Japan embarked on its program to conquer Asia. The surrender of Japan found the Philippines destroyed and laid waste to an extent which has happened to few countries in modern history, and of which few Americans can even begin to conceive. Against this background of death and destruction, the United States, in compliance with its undertakings, transferred sovereignty to the Philippines on July 4, 1946, and agreed to assist in its rehabilitation. It was to be expected that the first 5 years of Philippine independence would encounter the most serious difficulties, particularly in view of the growing menace of the international Communist conspiracy.

We should remember that the end of hostilities found the Philippines stripped of all producer and consumer goods. It will still take many long years to replace what was destroyed. It is difficult for us to realize what this meant to the economy of the country. Among other things, it meant spending its dollar resources in order to acquire once more the tools to produce wealth.

During this period, the Philippine economy was of course unable to produce enough to pay for necessary imports that it had to buy. The Philippine Government itself realized the danger of its position when its dollar reserves during 1949 decreased from 400 million to 248 million dollars. To remedy this situation the Philippine Government imposed the most stringent import regulations with the result that its reserves are now back to the 400 million-dollar level. In addition, improved collection of taxes and the imposition of new taxes in the face of serious political opposition give us confidence that the Philippine budget will be balanced this year.

And lastly, Philippine production, particularly of such strategic and important commodities as copra, abaca, sugar, lumber, and minerals is now encouragingly close to the prewar level. I maintain that, in view of the obstacles which had to be overcome and those which still remain, the record of Philippine self-help and American assistance is a good one. The purpose of the United States now is to extend the assistance necessary to preserve and extend the gains which have been

made.

Last year, the Bell Mission made a most excellent survey and made recommendations for the improvement of the Philippine economy. The recommendations of the Bell Mission are now in process of implementation, both by the Philippine economy.

pines and by the United States.

With American military assistance, the rejuvenated Philippine armed forces are now making significant inroads on the strength and capabilities of the Communist-dominated Huk movement. The presence of the Seventh Fleet in Philippine waters has contributed significantly to Philippine morale. American naval and air bases are being expanded.

These specific measures are giving the Philippine people confidence that President Truman and the Secretary of State have meant exactly what they said when they categorically stated publicly that the United States would never tolerate ag-

gression against the Philippines.

Philippine efforts at self-improvement and of cooperation with the free world persuade me that the Philippines is convinced the United States, as in the past, will keep its pledged faith. Philippine troops have been fighting alongside our boys in United Nations forces in Korea since last summer. In return, we can know that in Asia we have no more devoted or staunch friend and ally.

Fulfillment of U.S. Pledge to the Philippines

Statement by Myron M. Cowen American Ambassador to the Philippines

[Released to the press June 15]

I should like to give you a progress report on developments in the Philippines and our relations with that gallant ally of ours. As a result of 50 years of American tutelage and out of loyalty to and affection for the United States, the Philippines unfalteringly stood by us when Japan embarked on its program to conquer Asia. The surrender of Japan found the Philippines destroyed and laid waste to an extent which has happened to few countries in modern history, and of which few Americans can even begin to conceive.

Against this background of death and destruction, the United States, in compliance with its undertakings transferred sovereignty to the Philippines on July 4, 1946, and agreed to assist in its rehabilitation. It was to be expected that the first 5 years of Philippine independence would encounter the most serious difficulties, particularly, in view of the growing menace of the international Communist conspiracy.

Altogether too much is heard in this country of what is wrong in the Philippines, and I would be less than fair to our Filipino friends if I denied that there is much wrong. Far more important, however, is that there is much that is right and, in all honesty, I can tell you that I am supremely confident the Philippines is well on the way to justifying the confidence we have placed in it.

Because of misleading publicity, I suspect that the first and automatic reaction of the average American when he thinks of the Philippines is, "What happened to the 2 billion dollars the United States gave the Philippines?"

I believe this is as good a time as any to dispel once and for all the misconceptions about this 2 billion dollars worth of American aid. The best way to do it is to show what the United States has done and what this 2 billion dollars really consists of.

In the first place, the United States paid out 400 million dollars for private war damage claims, of

which the majority were in amounts of less than 500 dollars each, and for the reconstruction of public buildings. At the same time, the United States spent roughly 118 million dollars in the reconstruction of such essential public services as roads and bridges, ports and harbors, public health, fisheries, weather services, coast surveys, interisland shipping, and civil air facilities.

Another category of American payments during the first 5 years of independence fell into a more strictly military category. An amount of 822 million dollars was paid out by the American armed forces as back pay for Philippine armed forces, civilian claims against the military, civil relief, redemption of the guerrilla currency, missing persons benefits, and other items for military pay and construction materials and services.

The Veterans Administration paid out 181 million dollars as compensation to Filipino veterans.

An arrangement was also made to transfer surplus property estimated at a fair value of 100 million dollars. Other kinds of equipment and material and technical assistance to the amount of 200 million dollars were also made available.

The foregoing adds up to a dollar value of less than 1.9 billion but it should be noted that it was all in the form of goods and services and payments to individuals. Not a single centavo of this total was paid to the Philippine Government in cash. The only direct financial aid has been an RFC budgetary loan of 60 million dollars and 89.5 million dollars of processing and excise taxes which the United States had collected on behalf of the Philippine Commonwealth.

Two billion dollars can be made to sound like a lot of aid if you interpret it to suit your own purposes. Honest analysis makes it look like something else. It is true that what the United States has done for the Philippines did make available to it substantial amounts of United States dollar exchange, much of which could undoubtedly have

been spent more wisely than it was. We should remember, however, that the end of hostilities found the Philippines stripped of all consumer goods. It will still take many long years to replace

what was destroyed.

The Philippine Government itself realized the danger of its position when its dollar reserves, during 1949, decreased from 400 million dollars to 248 million dollars. To remedy this situation the Philippine Government imposed the most stringent import regulations with the result that its reserves are now back to the 400 million dollars level. In addition, improved collection of taxes and the imposition of new taxes in the face of serious political opposition give us confidence that the Philippine budget will be balanced this year.

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Last year the Bell Mission made a most excellent survey and made recommendations for the improvement of the Philippine economy. Pursuant to the Quirino-Foster agreement, recommendations of the Bell Mission are now in process of implementation, both by the Philippines and by

the United States.

With American military assistance, the rejuvenated Philippine armed forces are now making significant inroads on the strength and capabilities of the Communist-dominated Huk movement. The presence of the Seventh Fleet in Philippine waters has contributed significantly to Philippine morale. American naval and air bases are being expanded. These specific measures are giving the Philippine people confidence that President Truman and the Secretary of State have meant exactly what they said when they categorically stated publicly that the United States would never tolerate aggression against the Philippines.

Philippine efforts at self-improvement and of cooperation with the free world (for example, the spendid showing of Filipino troops in Korea) persuade me that the Philippines is convinced the United States, as in the past, will keep its pledged faith. In return we can know that in Asia we have no more devoted or staunch friend and ally.

Consular Offices

The combined American consulate and USIE Mission at Bari, Italy was officially opened to the public on April 19, 1951.

The American Legation at Vientiane, Laos was opened to the public on May 16, 1951.

Ambassador Griffis Claims Misinterpretation of Remarks

[Released to the press June 15]

The Department's attention has been brought to interpretations placed on reported remarks of Ambassador Stanton Griffis during the course of a press conference held in Barcelona, Spain, on May 7. The United States Ambassador to Spain is alleged to have implied that he held out no hope of the people now in slavery in satellite countries

ever again regaining their freedom.

After communicating with Ambassador Griffis at Madrid, the Department wishes to make emphatically clear that the interpretation placed on the Ambassador's remarks has no validity whatsoever. The constantly reiterated policy of this Government is the desire to see established in the countries of Eastern Europe independent and democratic governments freely responsive to the will of the people concerned, and the United States Government regards these peoples themselves as being deeply devoted to the ideals of personal freedom and national independence. On May 3, 1951, on the occasion of the 160th anniversary of the Polish Constitution, President Truman, in a message to the Polish people carried by the Voice of America bespoke the confidence of this Government in the will of the Polish people ultimately to regain their freedom when he said in part:

For more than a century and a half, in bondage and in freedom, Poles have commemorated May 3 as the symbol of their unflagging devotion to human rights and of their indomitable resistance to foreign oppression. The Constitution of May 3 has an additional meaning for Americans because it was brilliantly defended against the foreign invader by Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a hero of our own war for independence.

At the Barcelona press conference of May 7, questions and answers were handled through an interpreter. Correspondents asked questions in Spanish. Ambassador Griffis replied in English. During the course of the conference, Mr. Griffis, who has also served as United States Ambassador to Poland, was asked his opinion of the relative freedom of the average citizen behind the iron curtain. The Ambassador replied that peoples behind the curtain had relatively little control over their governments which were subservient to the will of Moscow. He added that in Poland, for example, present Russian domination was attempting to crush the Polish spirit of independence.

The Ambassador was then asked his opinion of the situation in the event of an understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States. He replied that, as puppet governments, existing regimes behind the curtain would continue to fol-

low the orders of Moscow.

In both responses, the Ambassador emphasized that he was speaking of the Soviet-controlled governments of these countries, and not of the peoples themselves. This emphasis, however, was not made in the reports carried in the Spanish press.

In certain quarters, reports of the Ambassador's alleged remarks have been interpreted as indicating that he had abandoned hope that peoples now under Soviet bondage will regain their independence. Ambassador Griffis has informed the Department that at no time did he express or imply any such opinion. The Ambassador wishes to make clear that he fully shares the friendly interest and sympathetic understanding of the people of the United States in sustaining the spirit of the peoples behind the iron curtain.

Mr. Dulles Reports on Tripartite Views on Japanese Treaty

[Released to the press by the White House June 15]

John Foster Dulles, accompanied by Secretary Acheson, reported to the President on the results of the visit of the Japanese Peace Mission to Great Britain and France, from which he returned this morning.

His report covered the talks with the officials of the French Foreign Office which had enabled the Foreign Office publicly to announce that there were no differences between the two countries as regards all the questions of principle involved in the preparation of the peace treaty.

Mr. Dulles also reported fully on the full exchanges of views which he had with representatives of the British Government, including the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Minister of State.

These talks resulted yesterday in full agreement between Mr. Dulles and Mr. Morrison on the draft treaty and all other main problems outstanding. This agreement is subject to governmental confirmations.

Mr. Dulles pointed out that although there had been initially considerable differences of opinion on important matters, these had all been cleared away, as a result of the better understanding of the facts and the reasoning which underlay the attitudes of the two Governments. The agreement reached did not require any compromise of principle by anyone, but represents free agreement based upon mutual understanding and community of purpose.

The President expressed gratification at the progress which had been made and the enlargement of the area of agreement in relation to the prompt conclusion of a fair and just Japanese peace treaty. He expressed the view that this progress strikingly indicated the capacity of the free nations to work together and to prove that in matters of great moment they were able to unify on a basis of the free working of reason and judgment.

Missing Planes in Czechoslovakia

[Released to the press June 15]

The United States Air Force has issued a release on June 15, concerning two United States jet fighter planes which have been missing since they became lost on June 8 while on a normal training mission over the United States zone of Germany. Reliable reports have been received that the missing planes landed in Czechoslovakia.

The United States Embassy at Praha immediately upon receiving this information sent a note to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs informing the Czechoslovak authorities that the planes were missing and requesting assistance in locating them. The Embassy has pressed repeatedly with respect to both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense to obtain verification that the planes landed in Czechoslovakia and has stressed the responsibility of the Czechoslovak authorities to report the finding of lost planes. The only response has been an indication that the competent authorities had not yet replied to the request for investigating the whereabouts of the two planes and the promise that these authorities would be pressed for a reply.

No further word has been received from the Czechoslovak authorities. The United States Government cannot comprehend this dilatory action and lack of cooperation on the part of the Czechoslovak Government in dealing with the matter of lost aircraft and personnel.

Soviet Repatriation Commission Leaves U.S. Zone of Austria

[Released to the press June 9]

The Department of State released today the following statement in connection with the expulsion of the Soviet repatriation mission from the American zone in Austria.

On May 25, 1951, Ambassador Donnelly addressed the following letter to the Soviet High Commissioner.

Dear General Syiridov: I have recently had occasion to review the correspondence between our two offices regarding the Soviet Repatriation Mission in the United States Zone of Austria. I have also reviewed in some detail recent activities of the Mission, and my study has convinced me that their objectives have been largely achieved. I note that their initial purpose was to facilitate the return of Soviet citizens freed by forces operating under the United States Command in the concluding phases of the war and in the immediate postwar period. These objectives have long since been fulfilled, and I perceive no reasonable justification for continuation of a permanent mission in the United States zone now that six years have elapsed since the end of the war.

I am advised, for instance, that during 1950 only six voluntary cases of displaced persons of Soviet nationality were repatriated, and only one to date in 1951. This would indicate to me that the task of assisting individuals

displaced by the war to return to their homelands has been accomplished. Those who remain have had ample time in which to return, and no possible obstacle to their repatriation exists which could not have been overcome in

that period of time.

As evidenced by the repeated complaints by our respective staffs, the prolonged and unfruitful maintenance of the Soviet Mission in the United States zone has proved a potential source of friction and misunderstanding both between our elements and among the Austrian population. By avoiding these tiresome incidents, its withdrawal would certainly contribute to better relationships between the United States and Soviet elements. Furthermore, the presence of the Mission provides a considerable burden to the United States military headquarters which is obliged to provide escort personnel and liaison service, quite aside from the question of furnishing quarters in an area where housing is acutely short.

The United States Government considers that resettlement, repatriation, and integration into the local population have substantially reduced the displaced persons problem, and looks forward to an early solution to the entire question. Both the United States element and appropriate international agencies have found it possible to reduce their activities in this respect, and it seems logical that the Soviet element might likewise find it opportune to do so. I recall that the Soviet Repatriation Mission was withdrawn from the United States Zone of

Germany nearly three years ago.

I wish to make it clear that I would have no objection to individual trips to the United States zone to deal with specific repatriation cases, on much the same plan as United States Graves Registration activities are carried out in the Soviet zone. At the same time, I extend my assurance that any displaced person of Soviet nationality who elects to return to the U.S.S.R. is free to cross into the Soviet zone at any time.

I trust that you will find this arrangement acceptable; it would be convenient if the Soviet Repatriation Mission were withdrawn from permanent residence by June 8th when their present accreditation expires.

Sincerely yours,

Walter J. Donnelly, U. S. High Commissioner for Austria.

On June 6, 1951, the Soviet High Commissioner replied to the United States request of May 25 for the withdrawal of the Soviet Repatriation Mission from the United States zone stating that he cannot agree with the United States proposal "since the activity of the mission to stay in the United States zone is determined not by an order of the United States authorities in Austria but by the agreement of the two Governments made on February 11, 1945." The United States High Commissioner answered this letter immediately, stressing that the 1945 United States-Soviet Yalta pact has long since been fulfilled and is unrelated to existing conditions. The second American letter emphasized the absence of the necessity for a resident mission and repeated the invitation for individual trips to the United States zone to deal with specific repatriation cases on the same basis as United States Graves Registration activities are carried out in the Soviet zone. The second United States letter concluded by extending an offer of assistance in closing out the mission and insisting upon evacuation by June 8, as originally specified.

On June 8, 1951, the United States High Commissioner received from General Sviridov a reply to his second letter again objecting to the termination of the Soviet mission and stressing again the validity and application of the 1945 Yalta protocol.

Ambassador Donnelly immediately dispatched a reply to this second Soviet letter reaffirming the United States position. The United States High Commissioner offered to discuss the applicability of the Yalta agreement but firmly insisted that the Soviet mission depart on June 8.

The Soviet Repatriation Commission has left

Salzburg for the Soviet zone.

Sweden and Czechoslovakia Sign Torquay Protocol

[Released to the press June 11]

The United States Government has been notified by the headquarters of the United Nations that Sweden, on June 7, 1951, signed the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at New York. Czechoslovakia signed the

protocol on June 8.

The protocol provides that the United States and Sweden shall put into effect on July 7, the thirtieth day following signature by Sweden, the tariff concessions negotiated between the two countries at the recent conference at Torquay, England. These concessions are in addition to those exchanged between the two countries at Annecy, France, in 1949.

Since the United States and Czechoslovakia did not negotiate any new concessions at Torquay, no changes in United States tariff rates will result from Czechoslovakia's signature of the protocol.

At Torquay, Sweden granted to the United States concession on 17 Swedish tariff items. On one item Sweden removed its import duty; on others it bound moderate rates of duty or duty-free treatment. On some items dutiable at specific rates, Sweden reserved the right to convert the duties to an ad valorem basis.

Concessions negotiated by Sweden at Torquay with a number of countries other than the United States will, when put into effect, benefit additional

United States exports to Sweden.

Swedish concessions to the United States will apply to a variety of American products, including rubber, glass, and metal manufactures; machinery and appliances; newspapers and periodicals; and chemicals and miscellaneous products.

Products on which United States concessions to Sweden at Torquay apply include X-ray apparatus and parts; tobacco machinery; steel ingots, blooms, slabs, billets, bars, etc., valued at more than 16¢ per pound; calculating machines and parts, electrical and other; table and kitchen articles of blown glass, valued at \$3 or more each; and crude horseradish.

Four Power Meeting Proposed by U.S. to Soviet Union

[Released to the press on June 15]

Following is the text of the United States note to the Soviet Union regarding a proposed four-power meeting of Foreign Ministers.

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to His Excellency the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to refer to the current four-power negotiations in Paris.

1. The United States Government communicated on May 31 to the Soviet Government a note designed to remove the deputies conference from the deadlock in which it has been for some weeks. To this end the United States Government proposed, together with the Governments of France and the United Kingdom, that a conference of Ministers should meet on the basis of whichever one of the three agenda which had been submitted to it the Soviet Government should prefer.¹

The negative reply of the Soviet Government has put the deputies conference back to the point

at which it was before May 31.

The Soviet Government stated in its note of June 4 that in its view it would be inexpedient to interrupt the work of the conference. The United States Government took account of this recommendation. As a result the deputies have held further meetings. These meetings have shown again that it is impossible to make any progress. The Soviet representative in fact continues to make the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs conditional on a demand which it knows to be unacceptable to the other delegates although the Soviet delegate has obtained satisfaction insofar as concerns the inclusion in the agenda of all the questions which the Soviet Government stated that it wished to have discussed in its notes leading up to the conference or in the proposals which it made for the agenda at the beginning of the conference.

2. If the insistence of the Soviet Government on including in the agenda some mention of "the Atlantic Treaty and the American military bases" is to be explained by its desire thus to secure directly or indirectly a decision of the Ministers calling into question a treaty concluded by twelve powers for the purpose of ensuring their common defense and to which the U.S.S.R. is not a party, it is clear that this insistence is entirely unjustified since such a decision does not come within the competence of the meeting of Ministers.

If on the other hand the purpose of the Soviet Government is solely to reserve the right of the Soviet Foreign Minister fully to give his interpretation of the causes and effects of international tension this insistence is unnecessary since it has been agreed that the agenda should contain a general heading which would permit each Minister to express his point of view on these matters.

3. Considering that the further discussions between the deputies on this question which the Soviet Government proposed in their note of June fourth have not advanced the prospect of agreement, the United States Government proposes that the Foreign Ministers of the four powers without further efforts by the deputies to complete an agreement on the agenda should meet on the basis of the large measure of agreement already reached by the deputies in Paris. Taking into account agenda B and the notes which have been exchanged between the Soviet Government and the other governments in which their respective points of view are recorded, the four Foreign Ministers should be able to proceed without delay to their task of seeking to reduce the existing tensions in Europe.

Proposal on Television for Purposes of UNESCO

[Adopted May 10, 1951]

Proposal

It is proposed that the U. S. National Commission pass the following resolution:—

Aware of the enormous potential of television for purposes consonant with the objectives of Unesco here and abroad; and

Considering the special responsibility of the U.S. National Commission, in view of the phenomenal development of the medium in this country, for keeping Unesco informed of its technical progress and promoting its application to education, science, and culture,

¹ BULLETIN of June 11, 1951, p. 933.

The U. S. National Commission for Unesco Authorizes: The establishment of a Panel on Television for the following purposes:

 To advise the National Commission on all appropriate means for the use and development of television for purposes consonant with the objectives of Unesco.

2. To advise the National Commission on policies which it should recommend to UNESCO for the development of television as a means of promoting the free flow of ideas, by word and image, including the international exchange of scripts, kinescopes and visual materials in UNESCO's fields of interest.

3. To advise National Commission organizations and affiliated bodies how to use television in attaining the

objectives of Unesco in this country.

4. To prepare for the consideration of the Executive Committee a statement of policy regarding the National Commission's appropriate role in relation to possibilities of obtaining private financial support for experiments with, and production of, educational television programs to be utilized by either commercial or educational facilities, or both.

Discussion

There has been a phenomenal expansion of television in this country, from 10,000 sets in January 1946 to an estimated 13 million sets today. Although the development in the United States has been the most spectacular, a dozen countries are now telecasting on regular or experimental basis. Several more have given consideration to the development and use of television for fundamental education, perhaps with the realization that a picture in the mind is one of the most effective ways of communicating an idea.

That television is likely to be tremendous force in education in this country is evidenced by the attention it is receiving from educators, industry, and foundations. The recent hearings of the Federal Communication Commission relating to the allocation of channels for educational purposes, while producing very divergent views on the way educational television should be developed, served to focus public interest on its importance.

Typical of the serious problems presented:

 —how many television channels should be allocated for commercial use and how many should be reserved for educational television;

 —how could any considerable number of educational television stations be financed;

—can commercial television devote sufficient and suitable time to educational purposes to meet what educators consider television's educational potentials;

—can educational programs be evolved which will attract sufficient audiences to enable commercial television stations to use them and survive financially;

—what possibilities are there of obtaining private funds for development of such programs or, at least, testing the possibilities?

Since it is on the scene of this development, the National Commission may be regarded as having a special responsibility for informing and advising Unesco about the development and utilization of this new medium, especially in view of the interest expressed by Unesco in the problem.

A number of Commission members and others affiliated with Commission programs have expressed strong interest in the use of television for Unesco purposes, and have provided informational and other materials to Unesco. Some have participated in television programs on Unesco's behalf and stimulated the development of programs in Unesco's fields.

The interest of Unesco in television has been expressed by certain program resolutions, inquiries and requests from the Unesco Secretariat, and additional emphasis on television found in technical facilities reports. The following are the resolutions in which television now is specifically mentioned in the Unesco Program:

"The Director-General is authorized:

(Draft Program for 1952: Mass Communication)
"6.15 To investigate the possibility of making an extensive use of television among the instruments of mass communication devoted to the cause of international understanding through education, science, and culture, and particularly to bring to the attention of Member States information and suggestions designed to stimulate the more rapid development and application of television for such a purpose."

(Note: The phraseology of this resolution was changed from "investigate the possibility of utilizing" to "investigate the possibility of making an extensive use of" after action by the Executive Board at its Twenty-fifth

Session.)

"The Director-General is authorized:

(Program for 1951: Teaching and Popularization of Science)

"2.3333 To prepare popular scientific articles for publication in newspapers or magazines, scripts for broadcasting by radio or television, and filmstrips for use by lecturers to non-scientific groups, and continue to encourage the international exchange of such popular scientific ar-

ticles, scripts or films."

(Note: In this connection, through the cooperation of Dr. Detlev Bronk, president of The Johns Hopkins University, and Mr. Lynn Poole, Director of Public Relations of the University, kinescopes of The Johns Hopkins Science Review, a half-hour weekly television network program (which just received the Peabody award for educational television) have been made available through the National Commission to Unesco for use by television stations in other member states. An article "Education Via Television" has been prepared for the Courier by Mr. Poole, originator and producer of the program.

A number of scripts of the television program Science in Action, created and produced by the California Academy of Sciences, also are being sent to Unesco in partial

implementation of this resolution.)

Proposal on Foreign Area Studies

[Adopted May 10, 1951]

Proposal

(1) That the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO endorse the following statement and recommend that the Executive Committee seek, so far as feasible, to gain widespread consideration of this statement, and further,

(2) That the Executive Committee be alert to any opportunities for appropriate, effective, practical, and feasible action for forwarding the objective of the statement.

Statement

The U. S. National Commission for Unesco expresses its conviction that the people of the United States and especially their scientists, scholars, and educators have a special responsibility to contribute to peace and security by the increase of knowledge of the history and cultures of the other peoples of the world. Particularly, more efforts must be devoted to the coordinated study of the areas and peoples of the world of which our present knowledge is inadequate.

Progress in this direction will require the concerted attention by educational administrators on an intellectual and planning problem—how to assure to the American citizen of the coming generation the educational experience which will fit him to participate fully in the world of which a successful Unesco must be an important part.

A body of knowledge, constantly increased by research and continually tested and revised is the only sure foundation of mutual understanding and sound policies. Such knowledge must include, for each people, their physical environment and conditions, their history from remote times, their systems of thought, ideas, values, and behavior, their varied modes of self expression in language and the arts, and their folkways, the relations with other peoples and cultures, and the reciprocal influences of such relations.

To achieve and maintain such knowledge calls for the correlated efforts of scientists and scholars trained in the relevant disciplines and methods of research. It is chiefly upon such knowledge, so acquired and so tested, that educators can rely for the truth which it is their function to communicate.

The U. S. National Commission for UNESCO believes that the concept of "foreign area studies" which has taken on substance and definition among the scientists, scholars, and educators of the United States during the past quarter of of a century, and which is now finding a place in the curricula of many universities has a vital bearing upon the problems of understanding, objectively and sympathetically, peoples unlike ourselves and cultures which differ from our own.

The U. S. National Commission for Unesco expresses the hope that such "foreign area studies" may be advanced through continuing and progressive research, the development of improved methods of investigation, and the training of competent investigators, an dthat the results of such labors may be communicated through the various channels of education at all levels to increasing numbers of the people of the United States.

Judges Elected to Chamber of Summary Procedure

The following information from the Registry of the International Court of Justice at The Hague was communicated to the press on April 20, 1951.

On April 19th, 1951, the International Court of Justice constituted its Chamber of Summary Procedure for the period May 3d, 1951, to May 3d, 1952. The Court elected the following Judges to form the Chamber:

MEMBERS: President Basdevant
Vice-President Guerrero
Judges Sir Arnold McNair, Krylov,

Hsu Mo substitutes: Judges Hackworth and De Visscher

The members of this Chamber, the constitution of which is laid down in article 29 of the Court's statute, are elected for 1 year. The Court has to determine cases by summary procedure if the parties to a dispute that has been referred to the Court so request.

U. S. Delegations To International Conferences

Tripartite Commission on German Debts

On June 13, the Department of State announced the appointment of H. Struve Hensel, as a consultant to attend the meeting of the Tripartite Commission on German Debts which will be held in London, commencing June 25.

The London meeting will be attended by representatives of principal creditor interests of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and by German Government officials and representatives of German debtors.

The meeting will take up in a preliminary and exploratory way the problem of the settlement of the German prewar external debt in order to prepare for a conference in the fall, at which all interested parties, both governmental and private, will be represented.

Mr. Hensel will advise on the problems which will arise from the standpoint of United States holders of German corporate dollar bonds.

Representation at the London meeting of other categories of United States creditors are:

James Grafton Rogers, President of the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council, Inc., will attend the meeting and represent holders of German Governmental bonds and corporate bonds which are governmentally guaranteed.

Andrew L. Gomory, Chairman, American Committee for Standstill Creditors of Germany, will

attend the meeting to represent United States holders of standstill credits. These credits were extended by a number of American banks. For some time prior to the war, payments on these credits were deferred under agreements entered into with the German Government.

General Conference (UNESCO), Sixth Session

On June 6, the Department of State announced that on May 29, the President had designated, subject to confirmation by the Senate, the United States representatives to the sixth session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which is to convene at Paris on June 18, 1951. They are:

Senior Representative

Howland H. Sargeant, Deputy Assistant, Secretary of State for Public Affairs; chairman,

Representatives

George D. Stoddard, President, University of Illinois, and Chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO; Vice Chairman,

Helen Crocker Russell, Director, Crocker First National Bank, San Francisco, Calif.; Vice Chairman of United States National Commission for UNESCO

Elvin C. Stakman, Vice Chairman, Division of Biology and Agriculture, National Research Council

George F. Zook, former President, The American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

Congressional Adviser

Prince H. Preston, House of Representatives

Member of Executive Board and Adviser

Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Special Adviser to the Chairman

Richard Heindel, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State

Advisers

Jaime Benitez, Chancellor, University of Puerto Rico John M. Cates, Jr., Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Alice T. Curran, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State

Emily Taft Douglas, Washington, D. C.

John M. Eklund, President, American Federation of Teachers

Frank Fernback, Associate Director, Department of Education and Research, CIO

Paul Eliot Green, Author and Playwright, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

George M. Ingram, Chief, Division of International Administration, Department of State

Carol C. Laise, Division of International Administration,

Department of State Roscoe C. Martin, Chairman, Department of Political Science and Government, Maxwell Graduate School, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

Samuel De Palma, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

Frederick D. G. Ribble, Dean of Law, University of

Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. John Schulman, Attorney, 120 Broadway, New York City Charles A. Thomson, Counselor of Embassy for Unesco Affairs, American Embassy, Paris

Howard F. Vickery, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State

Executive Secretary

David Persinger, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

International Labor Conference, 34th Session

The Department of State announced on June 5 that the thirty-fourth session of the International Labor Conference will convene at Geneva, on June 6, 1951. The United States delegation to the Conference is as follows:

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

Delegates

Philip M. Kaiser, Assistant Secretary of Labor, Chairman James E. Murray, United States Senate

Alternate Delegate

Augustine B. Kelley, House of Representatives

Arnold Zempel, Executive Director, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Advisors

Arthur J. Altmeyer, Commissioner for Social Security, Social Security Administration, Federal Security

John J. Babe, Assistant Solicitor in Charge of Trial Litigation, Department of Labor

B. Harper Barnes, Assistant Solicitor in Charge of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Robert M. Barnett, Economic Officer (Labor), American Legation, Bern, Switzerland, (resident at Geneva)

Clara M. Beyer, Associate Director, Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor

James L. Case, Commissioner of Labor, State Department of Labor, Nashville, Tenn.

Louis J. Ducoff, Labor Economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture

Ida Klaus, Solicitor, National Labor Relations Board Frieda S. Miller, Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor

Otis E. Mulliken, Officer in Charge of United Nations Social Affairs, Department of State

Robert J. Myers, Chief Actuary, Social Security Admin-istration, Federal Security Agency

Edward B. Persons, Chief, ILo Division, Office of Inter-national Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Cleon O. Swayzee, Labor Adviser, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State

EMPLOYERS REPRESENTATIVES

Delegate

Charles P. McCormick, McCormick and Company, Incorporated, Baltimore 2

Advisers

William B. Barton, Director, Employer-Employee Relations, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D.C.

E. Ebeling, Director of Personnel, The Sherwin-

Williams Co., Cleveland Carroll French, Director of Industrial Relations, National Association of Manufacturers, New York City 20 Roy Hawes, Past Master, Massachusetts State

Grange, North Sudbury, Mass.
Donald Knowlton, Hill and Knowlton, Cleveland 5

A. D. Marshall, Assistant Secretary, General Electric Company, Schenectady 5, N. Y. L. McGrath, President, Williamson Heater Company,

Cincinnati 9, Ohio

Charles B. Shaw, Director, Employee Relations Overseas, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, New York

WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES

Delegate

George Philip Delaney, International Representative, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Advisers

William Collins, Regional Director, American Federation of Labor, New York City

Rudolph Faupl, Vice President, International Association of Machinists, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Edward Hillock, Secretary-Treasurer, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Martin Kyne, Vice President, Retail, Wholesale and De-partment Stores Union, Congress of Industrial Organizations, New York City

John T. O'Brien, Vice President, International Brotherhood Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, American Federation of Labor, Indianapolis

Jacob S. Potosfsky, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, New York City

Michael Ross, Director, Department for International Affairs, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

Boyd Wilson, United Steelworkers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Pittsburgh

Secretary of Delegation

Ronald M. Ayer, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Administrative Secretary

Mason A. LaSelle, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Documents Officer

Alicebell Mura, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Stenographers

Vivian L. Bombardier, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Sally Curtin, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

The agenda for the 34th session will include the following subjects: the Director-General's report; financial and budgetary questions; information and reports on the application of conventions and recommendations; objectives and minimum standards of social security; industrial relations, including collective agreements and voluntary conciliation and arbitration; cooperation between public authorities and employers' and workers' organizations; equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value; minimum wagefixing machinery in agriculture; and holidays with pay in agriculture.

The International Labor Organization (ILO), a specialized agency of the United Nations, is an intergovernmental agency which seeks by international action to improve labor conditions, raise living standards, and promote economic and social

stability.

The Organization, which has 60 member countries, has three basic parts. These are the International Labor Conference, its highest authority which usually meets each year; the Governing Body, its executive Council, which meets four times a year; and the International Labor Office, its executive organ, which provides the secretariat of the Organization.

Representation at the sessions of the Conference is tripartite in nature, with two of the four delegates from each member country serving as representatives of the government and one each repre-

senting employers and workers.

Historically, the principal function of the Organization has been the formulation of international social standards in the form of international labor conventions and recommendations. Since the last war, the Organization has, with strong United States support, greatly extended its operational activities, including technical assistance and direct advice to governments and employers and workers groups on labor and social matters.

Although the United States Government was actively concerned in the establishment of the ILO in 1919, it did not become a member until 1934.

International Union of Crystallography Second General Assembly

On June 11, the Department of State announced that the second General Assembly of the International Union of Crystallography will be held at Stockholm, Sweden, June 27-July 5, 1951. The United States Government will be represented at the Assembly by the following delegates:

Dr. Ralph W. G. Wyckoff, Director, Division of Physical Biology, National Institute of Health, Federal Security Agency; Chairman

Dr. Lawrence O. Brockway, Professor of Chemistry, University of Michigan

Dr. Isidor Fankuchen, Professor of Applied Physics, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn

Dr. Arthur Lindo Patterson, Institute for Cancer Research, Philadelphia

Dr. William H. Zachariasen, Professor of Physics, University of Chicago.

Crystallography is one of the oldest and most basic of the physical sciences, but it has assumed considerable practical importance only during the last generation. Fundamentally, it is the science dealing with the properties of solids. Nearly all solids—whether metals, rocks, and minerals of inanimate nature, the purified products of synthetic chemistry, wood, and textile fibers from plants, or the bone, connective tissue, and muscle frameworks of animals—have their atoms and molecules in some measure of orderly array. The physical properties of these solids—their mechanical strengths, hardness, elasticity-depend on this order in particle arrangement and vary as it is altered. Modern research in crystallography has been important in such varied fields as the study of metals and alloys; the recognition and analysis of rocks and minerals; the development and analysis of such diverse industrial products as pigments, soaps, and greases; the production of substitutes for natural quartz for use in radios and electronic equipment; and, in the field of biology, the study of why teeth decay and muscles and tendons disintegrate as a result of disease and age.

The first General Assembly of the Union, held at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 28-August 3, 1948, reestablished the working relationships that had existed before World War II between the most important crystallographers of different countries and revived projects for the accumulation and publication of information needed by all workers in the field. One such project involved the preparation and publication of voluminous tables to serve as a basis for necessary mathematical and physical calculations. Another such project related to the collection and publication of critical summaries of all the crystallographic work done throughout the world.

The second General Assembly will assay the progress of the projects initiated at the Harvard meeting. In addition, it will appropriate from the moneys available to the International Union what is needed to carry out work over the next 3

years, elect a new group of officers to administer the affairs of the Union and supervise its projects. and hold scientific sessions, at which more than 100

papers will be given.

The International Union of Crystallography. which was accepted as a member of the International Council of Scientific Unions on April 7, 1947, was established pursuant to a proposal made at an informal meeting of crystallographers held at London in June 1946. Its work is directed by the General Assembly, which normally meets every 3 years and which consists of delegates appointed by the 15 member countries. The United States became a member in 1949.

International Wheat Council, Fifth Session

The Department of State announced on June 11 that the fifth session of the International Wheat Council will convene at London on June 13, 1951. The United States Government will be represented at the session by the following delegation:

United States Delegate

Stanley Andrews, Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

Advisers

Maurice M. Benidt, Chief, International Wheat Agreement Staff, Production and Marketing Administration, Department of Agriculture

James C. Foster, Assistant Director, Office of International

Trade, Department of Commerce

L. Ingemann Highby, Agricultural Products Staff, Department of State

Paul O. Nyhus, Agricultural Attaché, and United States Representative on the Executive Committee of the International Wheat Council, American Embassy, Lon-

Earl O. Pollock, Alternate United States Representative on the Executive Committee of the International Wheat

Council, American Embassy, London

Adviser and Secretary

Robert L. Gastineau, Grain Division, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture

The agenda for the fifth session provides for (1) adjustment of the quotas of guaranteed purchases and guaranteed sales stipulated in annexes A and B to article III of the International Wheat Agreement, (2) amendment of the rules of procedure of the Council, (3) review of reports by the Secretary of the Council and the Executive Committee, (4) action on applications from Japan and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to accede to the International Wheat Agreement, (5) consideration of proposals for preshipment and postshipment against annual quotas, (6) discussion of special problems relating to the reporting and recording of transactions in wheat and to the renewal of the International Wheat Agreement, and (7) the election for the 1951-52 crop year of officers of the Council, officers of the Executive Committee, and members of the Executive Committee.

The International Wheat Council was established in 1949 pursuant to the terms of the International Wheat Agreement of March 23, 1949, an instrument designed to assure supplies of wheat to importing countries and markets for wheat to exporting countries at equitable and stable prices. Administration of the provisions of the Agreement is the primary function of the Council, which is composed of the exporting and importing countries parties to the Agreement. Each member country may be represented at sessions of the Council by a delegate, an alternate delegate, and such technical advisers as are necessary.

THE CONGRESS

Legislation

Expressing the Sympathy of the Congress and of the People of the United States to the President and the People of El Salvador. H. Rept. 481, 82d Cong. 1st sess. [To accompany H. Con. Res. 105] 2 pp.

Suspension of Deportation of Certain Aliens. H. Rept. 491, 82d Cong. 1st sess. [To accompany S. Con. Res. 26] 2 pp.

Authorizing the Settlement by the Attorney General and the Payment of Certain of the Claims Filed Under the Act of July 2, 1948, by Persons of Japanese Ancestry Evacuated Under Military Orders. H. Rept. 496, 82d Cong. 1st sess. [To accompany H. R. 3142] 11 pp.

Department of State Appropriations for 1952. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 82d Congress

first session. 1136 pp.

Newsprint. Report of the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power of the Committee on the Judiciary pursuant to H. Res. 95 (82d Cong., 1st sess.) Authorizing the Committee on the Judiciary to Conduct Studies and Investigations Relating to Matters Within Its Jurisdiction. H. Rept. 505, Part 1, 82d Cong. 1st sess. 132 pp.

Universal Military Training and Service Act. H. Rept. 535, 82d Cong. 1st sess. [To Accompany S. 1] 27 pp.

Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951. H. Rept. 537, [To accompany H. R. 1612] 82d Cong. 1st sess.

5 pp.

Second Semiannual Report on the Mutual Defense Assistance Program. Message from the President of the United States transmitting the second semiannual report on the mutual defense assistance program, covering the period from April 6, 1950, to October 6, 1950, pursuant to provisions of public law 329 (81st Cong. 1st sess., Stat. 714) 50 pp.

A Mutual Security Program. Message from the President of the United States. H. Doc. 147, 82d Cong. 1st sess.

13 pp.

Permitting Free Entry of Articles Imported from Foreign Countries for the Purpose of Exhibition at the Japanese Trade Fair, Seattle, Wash. S. Rept. 322, 82d Cong. 1st sess. [To accompany H. J. Res. 253] 2 pp.

Relating to the Transfer of Payment of Tax on Vodka. S. Rept. 320, 82d Cong. 1st sess. [To accompany H. R. 1613] 2 pp.

Amending the Tariff Act of 1930 so as to Extend to Flaxseed and Linseed and Flaxseed and Linseed Oil the Privilege of Substitution for Drawback of Duties. S. Rept. 323, 82d Cong. 1st sess. [To accompany H. R. 2192] 2 pp.

Rider in Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill Called Defective

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House June 2]

I have today approved H. R. 3587, the third supplemental appropriation act for the fiscal year 1951. This act provides urgently needed funds for carrying on important activities of the Government.

Unfortunately, the act also contains a legislative "rider"—that is, a piece of legislation quite unrelated to the major purpose of the act, which is to appropriate funds. This rider—Section 1302—makes broad and sweeping changes in our procedures for restricting trade between the free world and the Soviet Union and its satellites. It is thus a major piece of legislation affecting our foreign policy, but it was never considered by the House Foreign Affairs Committee or the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

This rider is seriously defective. However, I have signed this act because the appropriations it carries are so urgently needed, and because Section 1302 does authorize exceptions from its provisions in the interest of national security. Unless the power to make exceptions is broadly used, this rider will result in weakening, rather than strengthening, the security of the United States and the collective security of the free world. I strongly urge the Congress to replace this hasty rider with more workable legislation at the earliest possible moment.

Briefly, Section 1302 provides, first, that no economic or financial assistance (other than military assistance) may be given to any country which exports to the Soviet Union and its satellites arms, armament, or military matériel.

Second, such aid may not be granted if a country exports any article or commodity which "may be used in the manufacture of arms, armaments or military matériel." And third, aid must be withheld if a country exports to the Soviet bloc any article or commodity the shipment of which to the Soviet bloc from the United States is prohibited.

The section further provides that in order for any country to be eligible for economic assistance from the United States, it shall certify monthly that it has not shipped any of these items to the Soviet bloc since the 15th day after the enactment of the act. The National Security Council is authorized to grant exceptions to these provisions in the security interests of the United States. Such exceptions are to be reported to six committees of the Congress.

I am sure that the Congress intended, in enacting this section, to strengthen the security of the United States and the rest of the free world by preventing the Soviet bloc from acquiring goods,

through trade, which will enlarge Soviet military strength in relation to that of the free world.

Section 1302

[Kem Amendment]

Sec. 1302. (a) During any period in which the Armed Forces of the United States are actively engaged in hostilities while carrying out any decision of the Security Council of the United Nations, no economic or financial assistance shall be provided, out of any funds appropriated to carry out the purposes of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, as amended, or any other Act to provide economic or financial assistance (other than military assistance) to foreign countries, to any country which exports or knowingly permits the exportation of, to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or any of its satellite countries (including Communist China and Communist North Korea), arms, or armament or military matériel or articles or commodities which the Secretary of Defense shall have certified to the Administrator for Economic Cooperation may be used in the manufacture of arms, armaments, or military matériel, or shipment of which to the Soviet bloc is embargoed by the United States in the interest of national security; and the Secretary of Defense is hereby authorized and directed to so certify to the Administrator for Economic Cooperation any article or commodity of the nature or class described: Provided, That after the 15th day following the date of enactment of this Act and prior to the termination of the period heretofore referred to no country shall be eligible for economic or financial assistance under any such Act unless within thirty days prior to the date on which such assistance is to be provided such country shall have certified to the United States that it has not, subsequent to the 15th day following the date of enactment of this Act, exported, or knowingly permitted the exportation of, arms, armaments, military matériel, articles, or commodities, which are subject to the foregoing provisions of this section, to any of the countries referred to in such provisions: Provided further, That such certification shall not relieve the Administrator for Economic Cooperation or any other officer of the United States Government of responsibility for enforcing the foregoing provisions of this section: Provided further, That exceptions to these provisions may be made upon an official determination of the National Security Council that such exception is in the security interest of the United States: Provided further, That the National Security Council shall immediately report any exception made with reasons therefor to the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, and the National Security Council shall at least once each quarter review all exceptions made previously and shall report its determinations to the foregoing committees of the House and Senate, which reports shall contain an analysis of the trade with the Soviet bloc of countries for which an exception is made.

(b) Section 1304 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, is hereby repealed.

With that purpose, everyone agrees. The United States and other free nations have been pursuing this objective for a long time, and much greater progress has been made than has generally been realized.

been realized.

Section 1302 is of little practical importance insofar as it applies to the shipment of arms, ammunition, implements of war, and atomicenergy materials. Long before the Korean conflict, shipments of these items to the Soviet bloc were prohibited by the United States, by the Western European countries, and by most of the other free nations of the world. Prohibitions on the shipment of these items are effective and complete.

The difficulties with Section 1302 arise out of its application to ordinary items of trade and commerce. As to these items, it is not well designed to achieve its ostensible purpose. In fact, in several important respects it will make it more

difficult to achieve that purpose.

First, the section fails to recognize that trade is

a two-way street.

Today, the free nations get from the Soviet bloc substantial amounts of such commodities as coal, grain, timber, manganese, chrome, asbestos and iron and steel products which are of major importance to the common defense of the free world. Principal exports to the Soviet bloc consist of some kinds, various foods and raw materials, and a diversified list of miscellaneous commodities.

It is obvious that many of these items, "may be used in the manufacture of arms, armaments or military matériel," in the words of Section 1302. But that is not sufficient reason for prohibiting their export to the Soviet bloc, if the free world receives in return goods of greater value.

Approach Oversimplified

Some free nations, as a result of trade patterns of many years' standing, are more dependent on imports from the Soviet bloc than others. Those free nations most dependent upon the Soviet bloc for imports contributing substantially to their food supply and defense effort, naturally have great difficulty in reducing exports to the Soviet bloc. They are in a much more difficult situation than are countries like the United States, which are not so dependent upon imports from the Soviet bloc.

The problem of trade between the Soviet bloc and the free world is thus a matter of evaluating, in terms of relative importance, what the free world gets from the bloc for what it must give in return. The oversimplified approach of Section

1302 is clearly wrong.

Second, Section 1302 attempts to achieve by coercion what must be achieved by cooperation. No one nation can successfully force its own system of controls upon every other nation. Our experience so far shows that effective controls can be accomplished by cooperation.

The United States strictly controls its own exports to the Soviet bloc. The shipment of many items is embargoed. All exports of any kind from the United States to any country in the Soviet bloc requires licenses. Their type and quantity are carefully scrutinized to make sure that they will not be of strategic value to the Soviet bloc.

In addition to the controls that apply generally to exports to countries in the Soviet bloc, shipment of all commodities to China is forbidden and United States ships are not allowed to call at

Chinese ports.

The United States has also been a leader in urging other free nations to join in international control of exports to the Soviet bloc. Of necessity, publicity concerning control methods and results has been restricted. Much progress has been made, however. The countries of Western Europe which are cooperating with us in the common defense program have taken action to prohibit or control exports of strategic goods to the Soviet bloc. These nations, together with Canada and the United States, substantially control most of the industrial products of the free world.

When aggression broke out in Korea, approximately 145 categories of articles had already been embargoed to the Soviet bloc from these Western European countries as well as from the United States and Canada. Many of these categories include dozens of individual articles. The quantities which could be shipped in numerous other

categories were limited.

Through continuing cooperative efforts since that time, further restrictions have been worked out. At present, about 90 percent of the items which the United States regards as being of primary strategic significance are subject to virtual embargo by the Western European countries.

In addition to these steps, the United Nations on May 18, 1951, by a vote of 47 to 0, agreed to a complete embargo on the shipment of strategic materials to Communist China.¹ The United States will continue to work in the United Nations for increasingly effective international action to deny materials of value to the Chinese aggressors.

We have come a long way in our efforts to achieve international controls over exports to the Soviet bloc, and these controls are becoming in-

creasingly effective.

A third major defect with Section 1302 is that if we cut off our aid to a friendly country, we might hurt ourselves more than we hurt the Soviet Union.

Free World Defenses Endangered

The indiscriminate approach of Section 1302 for cutting off economic aid to other countries ignores the vital interest which the United States has in the contribution that aid makes to the security of the whole free world. Cutting off this aid could

¹ BULLETIN of May 28, 1951, p. 849.

strike a death blow at the tremendous defense effort in which the free nations are now engaged.

The success of our defense effort depends upon the ability of the free world to maintain and expand its economic strength. Our programs for economic and financial assistance are directed to that end.

In some countries, they are directed toward helping other nations build the industrial facilities required to produce weapons for defense. In certain underdeveloped countries, they are directed to assuring the basic economic stability which is essential if those countries are to resist both internal and external threats to their independence.

In other countries, they are aimed at expanding the capacity of the free world to produce vitally needed strategic materials—for example, copper,

steel, aluminum and uranium.

The security of the United States, as well as the other free nations, is deeply involved in the success of these efforts. The defense structure we are striving to create—both here at home and in Europe under General Eisenhower—will rot and topple unless it rests on a sound economic foundation.

In addition to these major defects, Section 1302 also contains certain technical provisions which are unfortunate. For example, the provision for certification is complicated and difficult to apply and does not add to our ability to carry out the

ostensible purpose of the section.

Because of the defects I have described, Section 1302 will make it more difficult for this country to make further progress in its effort to bring about effective international controls over trade with the Soviet bloc.

The National Security Council has been guiding the work of the Executive agencies in this effort. The council has been carrying on a continuous scrutiny of the trade of every country in the free world with the Soviet bloc. Information on the quantities and types of commodities shipped to and received from the Soviet bloc by every free country has been examined. The trade controls exercised by these countries have been considered.

Against this background, the council has decided the actions that the United States should take. In doing so, the council has viewed the United States security in its broadest terms. It has taken into account the security value of imports received from the bloc, the contribution of each country to the collective security of the free

world and the importance of United States aid in facilitating their defense efforts.

For the most part, there are very few articles left of any real strategic importance that are moving to the Soviet bloc in any significant quantity. There are still a number of trade situations with which we are not yet satisfied.

Control of trade at certain transhipment points is difficult of solution. As would be expected, not all friendly nations agree with us precisely as to which articles are of the most strategic value to the Soviet bloc. We are constantly endeavoring, however, to correct all of these weak spots and progress is constantly being made.

Improved Legislation Recommended

We will continue these endeavors and will make every possible effort to administer Section 1302 to accomplish the purposes which the Congress intended without impairing the security interests of the United States. In order to do this, I think it likely that the National Security Council will find it necessary to make exceptions on a broad-scale until the Congress has an opportunity to give this matter further consideration.

I am sure that the Congress and the Executive have the same general objective in mind in prohibiting trade that is injurious to the security interests of the United States and in finding the most practical and effective method of doing so.

Because of the compelling objections to Section 1302 in its present form, I urge the Congress to enact improved legislation to replace it at an early date. Such improved legislation should be based, I believe, on the following principal considerations:

1. The purpose of the legislation should not be blindly to cut off as much trade as possible, but to cut off trade only when such action will add to the security of the United States and the rest of the

free world.

2. The legislation should take account of the offsetting value of what we receive from the Soviet bloc as compared with what we send to them; it should take account of the differing importance of different commodities and not treat all commodities alike; and it should take account of the value to us of the increased strength for freedom which our economic aid brings about.

3. The legislation should provide for simple, effective, and straightforward administration.

Legislation of this type would be helpful to the Nation's security. I strongly urge that the Congress enact such legislation to replace Section 1302.

The United States in the United Nations

[June 15-21, 1951]

General Assembly

Additional Measures Committee.—In compliance with the embrago resolution adopted by the General Assembly on May 18 against the People's Republic of China and the North Korean authorities, reports have been received by the Committee from the following 37 countries: United Nations members—Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Byelorussia, Canada, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Honduras, India, Iran, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, South Africa, U. S. S. R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Yugoslavia; nonmembers—Cambodia, Italy, Rumania.

In submitting the United States report, Ambassador Ernest A. Gross commented:

The practical effectiveness of the collective effort to deprive the aggressors of imports useful to their war making power is clearly shown by reports such as this from the member countries. In addition, discussion and review by the United Nations of these reports are a positive method of achieving the purpose of the United Nations resolution.

... I believe that this procedure is an important expression of the United Nations in action. It will demonstrate to the world the effectiveness of collective action and the value of continuous collaboration through international machinery.

. . . By denying the aggressors the means to wage war, the 53 members of the United Nations who support United Nations action in Korea help bring closer the day when hostilities will be ended and United Nations objectives achieved through peaceful processes.

The report states, briefly:

The controls applied by the United States on shipments to the Chinese Communists and the North Korean authorities are more comprehensive than those called for by Resolution 500 (V) and were placed in effect before that Resolution was passed. Exports from the United States of arms, ammunition, and implements of war and atomic energy materials to North Korea and to Communist China have not been authorized at any time, and exports of a number of other strategic articles were severely restricted and in some instances embargoed for some time prior to June 1950. Since the end of June 1950, the United States Government has permitted no shipments to North Korea

and applied an embargo on shipments to Communist China not only of arms and munitions but also of atomic energy materials, petroleum products, and other items of strategic value included in the United States Positive List.

The scope of the economic measures applied against the Chinese Communists by the United States was greatly extended when it became unmistakably clear that they were engaged in large-scale military operations against United Nations forces in Korea. Since December 1950, the United States has not exported any materials whatever to Communist China. . . . All Communist China and North Korea assets within the United States have been blocked and subjected to stringent controls. . . . The United States will prevent by all means within its jurisdiction the circumvention of controls on shipments applied by other States under the Resolution and cooperate fully with other States and the Additional Measures Committee in carrying out the purposes of this embargo.

New Appeal for Forces for Korea

On June 21, the acting representative of the United States to the United Nations presented to the Secretary-General in behalf of the unified command a communication concerning the need for additional ground troops from member governments of the United Nations for the collective effort in Korea. It states:

The unified command has conducted and is now conducting extensive bilateral conversations in connection with this problem with various member states and, in particular, is conducting conversations with states which have already contributed armed forces.

In order to further efforts of the unified command in this respect, the Secretary-General is requested to send communications on behalf of the unified command to member governments which previously gave a favorable reply either to the Security Council's resolution of June 25, 1950, or to its resolution of June 27, 1950, but which have not yet contributed armed forces for the collective effort in Korea, advising the aforementioned members of the need for further ground assistance in Korea. There is a real need for additional forces from member states in the light of massive Chinese Communist concentrations in the area and of their continuing aggression. . . .

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Delegations from 59 member nations are attending the 6th session of the General Conference of UNESCO which is being held June 18 to July 11 in Paris. The five countries which have submitted

applications for membership have been admitted as observers—Japan, German Federal Republic, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Three other nonmembers have also been admitted as observers, Iceland, Finland, and Spain. In addition representatives from United Nations specialized agencies, intergovernmental organizations, and 93 international nongovernmental organizations representing the church, labor, social welfare, scientific, educational, and cultural groups are attending.

The Chairman and Vice Chairman of the United States, delegation are Howland H. Sargeant, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, and George D. Stoddard, President, University of Illinois and Chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

Two important items on the agenda of the plenary meetings of the General Conference are the Director General's report on the activities of the Organization from April 1950 to March 1951, and the Unesco draft program for 1952.

In his report, the Director General, Jaime Torres Bodet, states:

From now on the important thing is not so much how UNESCO should be run, but what it can do. Its activities are tending to become less generalized and more concrete.

In addressing the plenary meeting, he stated:

Unesco is a technical institution and as such is not responsible for establishing political security, but it is responsible for establishing a more general form of security—peace in its deepest sense—without which political security is no more than a truce between wars. To fight for collective security means, therefore, that we must fight for something else at the same time—for universal progress, which means economic and social security.

The proposed 1952 program of activities are classified into seven major fields: education, natural science, social science, cultural activities, exchange of persons, mass communications, and relief assistance. Specific proposals include:

(1) The establishment over a 12-year period of six regional fundamental education centers in the Far East, India, the Middle East, Latin America, and Equatorial Africa, where teams of teachers would be trained and educational materials prepared.

(2) The sending of educational missions to

various countries.
(3) Education of industrial workers. Specific recommendations call for the establishment of an international center for the training of specialists, the improvement of methods in workers' education, and the organization of educational courses for workers, particularly in relation to international understanding.

(4) Establishment of a new kind of public library in under developed areas of the world especially designed to meet the needs of readers using books for the first time in their adult lives.

Other items on the plenary agenda include:

1. Establishment of the other five units of the General Conference: Procedure Committee, Budget Committee, Program Commission, the Administrative Commission, and the Official and External Relations Commission.

2. Presentation by the Director General of the budget estimates for 1952. The proposed budget for the regular activities of UNESCO for 1952 amounts to \$9,666,500. This will be reviewed by the Conference and is subject to reduction.

Consideration of the world problem of newsprint and its effect of limiting the free flow of information and knowledge.

4. The creation of a European Regional Laboratory for Nuclear Physics.

Mr. Sargeant (U.S.) was unanimously elected president of the General Conference. He stated it was the United States view that UNESCO should not become a propaganda vehicle or the instrument of any nation or group of nations; that it should remain "a truly international agency" dedicated to the attainment of peace and security for mankind. He added:

It must develop a living sense of the interdependence of all peoples and of the identity of their common interests. Unesco, among all of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, deals in ideas and in the influence of ideas on the behavior and attitudes of mankind. Ideas are far more potent than bullets. We do not need to be great prophets to see that now we must quicken our pace and synchronize the resources of Unesco.

He stressed the support the United States gives to the Unesco programs for abolishing illiteracy and improving education. He also pledged support of the proposed project for extending fundamental education and urged that Unesco technical aid programs be stepped up.

Secretary-General Trygve Lie, who addressed the opening session, stated,

In the present state of the world, it is very important that the international agencies should close their ranks against the forces of skepticism and despair and should persist in their great—and seldom spectacular—task of making possible a peaceful world.

Unesco has a key position in the effort which the United Nations organizations must now make to realize in an unsettled world the great purposes for which they were established. Through the wide scope and diversity of its activities, it has an immense range of contacts throughout the world. Through the nature of its work, it has the possibility of influencing the minds of men and the ideas which motivate men's actions. It has a vital role to play in support of the total United Nations effort for peace, a role with many different aspects.

Mr. Lie also noted that Unesco is now being asked, in accordance with the proposal adopted by the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) at its twelfth session, to take appropriate measures to bring its relationship with the United Nations ever more closely into line with the collective security proposals adopted last year by the General Assembly in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution.

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Zabronsky (Zabrousky), Jacob O., of National Council of Young Israel, alleged Roosevelt letter to, 496 January 8: page 75, left-hand column, first paragraph, "Gen. William A. Piley" should read "Gen. William A. Riley."

January 15: Index, under "Mutual Aid and Defense," delete "Düsseldorf, Opening of Consulate General."

January 22: page 123, left-hand column, the last sentence in the sixth paragraph should read as follows: "We are able to produce more than ever before—in fact, far more than any country ever produced in the history of the world."

page 123, right-hand column, the last sentence in the seventh paragraph should read as follows: "But, I am sorry to say, that has not been the case."

page 124, right-hand column, the last sentence in the second paragraph should read as follows: "Therefore, even if we were craven enough—and I do not believe that we could be—I say even if we were craven enough to abandon our ideals, it would be disastrous for us to withdraw from the community of free nations."

page 125, right-hand column, the fourth paragraph, the following sentence should be inserted after the first sentence: "Long, long ago we stood for the freedom of the peoples of Asia."

January 29: page 167, left-hand column, "Text of U.S. Resolution" should read "Text of U.S. Draft Resolution."

March 26: page 502, top of right-hand column, the heading "U.S.-Chile Sign Air Force Agreement" should read "U.S.-Chile Sign Navy Mission and Air Force Mission Agreements."

April 2: page 529, left-hand column in footnote, delete the following words: "Message from the President of the United States transmitting the"

In index, delete heading "Trust Territories" and subhead: "Caribbean Commission: U.S. Commissioner Appointed (Morón)."

April 9: page 596, right-hand column, the title of the agency used in the heading and in the first paragraph, fifth line should read "United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine."

April 30: page 713, left-hand column, "U.N. doc. E/AC.33/Add.55" should read "U.N. doc. E/AC.33/10/Add.55." The first five paragraphs are repetitious.

May 21: page 828, left-hand column, the last sentence of the first paragraph should read as follows: "The originals of these documents, which are in the Korean [one Korean, one Russian] language, are in the possession of the United States Government."

June 11: page 959, right-hand column, the letter from Ambassador Gross to the Secretary-General was printed from U.N. doc. A/1822, dated June 25, 1951.

June 18: Front cover, "Vol. XXIV, No. 625" should read "Vol. XXIV, No. 624."

page 973, right-hand column, the third line in the first paragraph should be deleted.

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